Summer 7-21-2017

Music and Race in the American West

William Steven Schneider
Portland State University

Music and Race in the American West

by

William Steven Schneider

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

Thesis Committee:
David Johnson, Chair
Katrine Barber
Catherine McNeur
Josh Epstein

Portland State University
2017

Abstract

This thesis explores the complexities of race relations in the nineteenth century American West. The groups considered here are African Americans, Anglo Americans, Chinese, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans. In recent decades historians of the West have begun to tell the narratives of racial minorities. This study adopts the aims of these scholars through a new lens—music. Ultimately, this thesis argues that historians can use music, both individual songs and broader conceptions about music, to understand the complex and contradictory race relations of the nineteenth century west.

Proceeding thematically, the first chapter explores the ways Anglo Americans used music to exert their dominance and defend their superiority over minorities. The second chapter examines the ways racial minorities used music to counter Anglo American dominance and exercise their own agency. The final chapter considers the ways in which music fostered peaceful and cooperative relationships between races. Following each chapter is a short interlude which discusses the musical innovations that occurred when the groups encountered the musical heritage of one another.

This study demonstrates that music is an underutilized resource for historical analysis. It helps make comprehensible the complicated relations between races. By demonstrating the relevance of music to the history of race relations, this thesis also suggests that music as a historical subject is ripe for further analysis.

For Naomi

Acknowledgements

This is not the thesis I thought I would write. It was not even one of the first ten ideas I proposed. The twenty-sixth time is the charm, I suppose. At first this was only a side project. But much to my surprise the project grew into something bigger than I ever expected. I am forever in debt to my professors and classmates who saw this project's potential long before I did and encouraged me to pursue it further.

My writing group with Tanya Monthey, Taylor Bailey, and Greta Smith made the process fun. Our writing sessions were the perfect balance of productivity and distraction. Friendly conversations with Josh Ross provided me with access to his impressive historiographical knowledge.

The original research question that sparked this project came from a conversation with Brian DiCarlo. I owe him a lot of beer. Allie Gavette generously read an early draft and gave the insightful comments that only a journalist could. Jeff Klein is my best friend. Without his shocking, unwavering, and frankly illogical confidence in me, I would never have had the courage to even attempt this project.

I have been incredibly fortunate to work with and learn from the professors in PSU's history department. Although I will certainly fail to adequately express my gratitude, it is my pleasure to at least try to do so here. As an undergraduate I had the fortune of working with Dr. Brian Turner. From him I learned the craft of historical writing. Without his guidance, patience, and generosity, I would not have survived graduate school. Much of my success is because of him. I only hope that the writing I present here does not embarrass him. I am grateful to Dr. Josh Epstein of the English

department for generously joining my thesis committee. His insight and incredible attention to detail helped me clarify my writing. My only regret is that I did not get to work with him sooner. Dr. Catherine McNeur offered constant encouragement, always offering congratulations when we passed each other in the hall, for whatever recent milestone I had reached. Her encouragement meant more than I often let on. She directed me to several scholars whose work has influenced my own. Her keen eye found holes in my argument and her attention and care saved me from much embarrassment. This project was born in a seminar with Dr. Katy Barber. When I brought her a sporadic collection of primary sources dealing with music, uncertain how to weave them together, she said, "look at power dynamics." When I shared an early draft of the paper, she asked, "why isn't this your thesis?" This project's central analysis and indeed its very existence are indebted to her.

I could not ask for a better adviser than Dr. David Johnson. Every part of this thesis–the writing, the research, the argument, the structure–is better because of his guidance. His passion for history is contagious. He pushed me to work harder than I thought possible but always did so with kindness. He gave me confidence whenever I began to doubt myself. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

Throughout this process, my parents have given me their unwavering love and support. They have always nurtured my passion for music and history. This project would never have been completed without them. Barbecuing and watching the Green Bay Packers at their house every Sunday gave me the fun and relaxation I needed to continue on this long journey. My brothers Phil and Tim are horrible. They are both fat idiots and

were of absolutely no help. I doubt they will ever read this thesis. In fact, I doubt if either will ever learn to read anything at all. It is the great tragedy of my life that I love them both very much. The best thing about Phil is his wife Jen. She's actually pretty cool.

My wife Naomi is my favorite person of all. For over a year she has patiently listened to my constant ramblings about scholarship and obscure song lyrics. She read every word of this project in all ten thousand drafts and her careful editing has made me appear much smarter than I actually am. But even more importantly, she has all of my love. She always encouraged me to dedicate this project to various other people who have assisted me along the way. However, I can't help it—this thesis is for her.

S. D. G.

Table of Contents

Prelude

September 3, 1849, was a full day for Bernard J. Reid and his fellow travelers. The day was hot as the wagon train covered 15 miles across western Nevada on its way to California in search of gold. Joseph Cooper, a companion of Reid, died that day and was buried during the noonday halt. Despite the exhaustion of travel and heat and death, when the day was done, Reid could find no sleep. With mountains around him and a river flowing quietly near the camp, he lay on his bed, admiring the stars and swollen moon as the campfire burned in the distance and the sounds of singing drifted through the night air. Reid described the music and scenery as "food for contemplation."[1]

Reid's description of his sleepless night captures the power of songs and landscape. Reid found it both beautiful and lonely. This passage was not his only meditation on music, but it was his longest. He made frequent mention of music in his diary—how it often cheered the camp in the evenings. Music has profound influence on a person's mind and mood. Reid was struck by the potent mixture of song and region. Other travelers of the overland trails remarked that things sounded different in the West. Silence was deeper, cannons echoed off the rolling hills, thunder was mightier in the open plains.[2] Songs and raw sounds meant something different in the West; it was the meeting place for several racial groups and their separate musical traditions.

---

[1] Bernard J. Reid, *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line*, ed. Mary McDougall Gordon (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 1983), 123-4.
[2] Sarah Keyes, "'Like a Roaring Lion': The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest," *The Journal of American History* 96 (2009), 23, 28-9.

Many scholars of the American West have for years tried to move the field out of the shadow of Frederick Jackson Turner and in a more inclusive direction, incorporating race, gender, and power relations.[3] The goal of this thesis is not to counter the work or conclusion of any new western historian; it is to address a rather puzzling silence. Music is deeply tied to culture—and many cultures met in the West—but American historians have not recognized the potential of studying music and it remains a regrettably overlooked subject.[4]

Geraldo L. Cadava has written that the West was a place of "social, cultural, and economic exchanges."[5] He is right. The West was the meeting ground for African Americans, Anglo Americans, Asian immigrants, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans. There existed a plethora of competing cultural norms, expectations, and artistic sensibilities. Likewise, Richard White famously said, "without the special experience of its minorities, the West might as well be New Jersey with mountains and deserts."[6] In White's view, the West was unique and exceptional because it was the meeting place of various people groups.

Other scholars have countered this view. Margaret D. Jacobs does not see the West as exceptional, arguing that western expansion is best understood as a form of settler colonialism, a worldwide phenomenon. Unique or not, she argues that power

---

[3] For an excellent summary of the goals of the New West, see Walter Nugent, "Western History, New and Not so New," *OAH Magazine of History* 9 (1994): 6.
[4] Richard Cullen Rath, "Hearing American History," *The Journal of American History* 95, (2008): 421-22. Rath argues that scholarship's disinterest in sound is in part due to a larger trend. Since the late eighteenth century visuals have become more important to American society than audible sensations.
[5] Geraldo L. Cadava, "Borderlands of Modernity and Abandonment: The Lines within Ambros Nogales and the Tohono O'odham Nation," *The Journal of American History* 98 (2011): 362.
[6] Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 397.

relations between races is key to an accurate history of the West. A multicultural history that ignores power differences is insufficient.[7] Karen J. Leong affirms that colonial studies free scholars from exploring an imaginary West. She further states that to better understand western history, it is necessary to draw upon scholarship from outside fields and that scholars who incorporate outside fields often produce the most exciting work.[8]

Historians, while recognizing the importance of race, cultural exchange, and power relations in the West, too often ignore music in their analyses, especially music's powerful personal impact and its function as an emblem of culture. Only occasionally do the melodies of western songs drift through western historiography. For the most part, it has been relegated to the periphery of scholarship.[9] Music possesses several unique features that illustrate its value as evidence. It is often literary, but unlike other works of literature, songs can be memorized and do not solely appeal to the educated and literate classes. A person can read a novel, but few can memorize one. Music is also communal. A community may enjoy a building but they do not rebuild it every time they enter its doors. A song, in a certain sense, is recreated every time it is performed. It may have an author, but it does not belong to that author. Music should be considered alongside artistic forms like literature, painting, food, dress, and architecture. If a community expressed itself in song and we wish to understand the hearts and minds of that

[7] Margaret D. Jacobs, "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History," *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 586-7, 596-7

[8] Karen J. Leong, "Still Walking, Still Brave: Mapping Gender, Race, and Power in U.S. Western History," *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 625-6

[9] Mark K. Smith, "Still Coming to 'Our' Senses: An Introduction," *The Journal of American History* 95, (2008): 379. Though arriving by a quite different path, I find myself echoing the views of Smith and his push for a sensory history of America which not only includes sound but also smell, sight, touch and taste.

community and the larger society of which it was a part, then we must listen to their music.

This thesis makes a contribution to the field in three ways. First, it demonstrates the importance of music for historical analysis. Historians of the American West who wish to study themes of convergence and complexity among the races and cultures can find a wealth of material in people's music. Second, music helps us better understand the power dynamics between racial groups in the American West during the nineteenth century. Anglo Americans used music to exert cultural dominance over minorities, but those same subjugated groups used music to empower themselves and resist Anglo supremacy. Musical exchange was a conversation, not a monologue. Music illuminates the ways different races related to each other in dominance, resistance, and cooperation. Third, because music and race have been overlooked by scholars, I've spent considerable time and energy finding and compiling primary sources here used. The sources on music in the West have always been there but they have not been collected, compiled, and made available to scholars. The bibliography of this thesis provides a resource to those who wish to elaborate, supplement, or supersede the arguments I present.

This thesis proceeds thematically rather than chronologically, approaching the same story from three different perspectives. The first chapter places Anglo Americans at the center. It examines how they used music to exert dominance over racial minorities. Song lyrics in popular Anglo songs often degraded racial minorities. The songs were often outlets for the anxieties of Anglo Americans and were used to confirm the superiority of the Anglo race. Anglo American performers created popular characters for

the stage. These characters used makeup and the exaggerated mannerisms of minorities to comedic effect. Anglos also disregarded the musical ability and the musical heritage of other cultures and races. Embedded in their perspective was a belief in a racial hierarchy with themselves on top.

The second chapter tells the opposite story. It examines the reverse relationship, showing how racial minorities of the West used music to counter Anglo American supremacy. Racial minorities used music to form communities and identities in the face of oppression. Their songs told different stories than those of Anglos, critiquing Anglo values of freedom and liberty by drawing attention to racial discrimination. Commonly, they adopted the musical traditions of Anglos but re-imagined them and made them their own.

The final chapter explores the ways music fostered peaceful race relations. Counter to broader social customs and institutions, individuals of differing races bonded and found fellowship with each other through music. Just as some Anglo Americans used music to express the racial inferiority of others, other Anglo Americans used music to advocate for the rights of minorities. Some minorities displayed such musical talent that they forced Anglo Americans to recognize and appreciate their skill.

Placed in-between these chapters are short interludes that serve two functions. First, it would be negligent to discuss the power dynamics within the music without some consideration of how that music actually sounded. The interludes analyze the musical innovations which inevitably occurred when musicians encountered the unfamiliar musical traditions of other races. As musicians borrowed ideas, new genres evolved and

new instruments developed. Second, the interludes explore developments with which the modern listener will be familiar. On occasion, they reach into the twentieth century to reveal how the musical innovations of cross-racial encounters can still be heard in the present. This serves a larger purpose: exploring the continuity of the West. The dominant issues of the region—namely the complexities of race relations—were not resolved, abandoned, or forgotten in 1890; they have continued into the present. If one knows what to listen for, they can hear within contemporary music a history of racial interactions.

Several factors have molded this work. I have focused on the nineteenth century. Many features of music in the twentieth century complicate the narrative beyond what can be adequately covered here; among them, record labels, radio, television, immigration reform, and the civil rights movement. This thesis lays a foundation for others to build upon, to show music's power to clarify the complexity of race relations in the century when America first incorporated diverse people groups. The sources also shaped this work. Anglo American sources are the primary forms of evidence. This centers the story too much on their experiences and too little on minority experiences. Finally, the Trans-Mississippi West is the focus of my work but I always keep the East—both north and south—in view.[10] There has been considerable debate among scholars

[10] Scholars have long debated how best to define the West and what if anything makes the West unique. For a modern discussion of the issues, see Donald Worster et al., "'The Legacy of Conquest', by Patricia Nelson Limerick: A Panel of Appraisal," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (1989): 311, 315-16, 320-21. Donald Worster, "New West, True West," *in Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989), 24-25. For a mid twentieth century view, see Earl Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41 (1955): 581. Pomeroy argued that the West was not exceptional and imitated eastern culture. For a still earlier perspective, see Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931), 1-9. Webb defined the West as everything west of the 98th meridian and argued that it was the very geography of the region that made it exceptional.

about just how and in what ways the West was different from the East. I take the moderate position that the West inherited the culture, customs, and institutions of the East but elaborated upon them; thus the West was neither wholly unique from nor identical to the East. Issues of western exceptionalism are not the crux of my argument, but my analysis of race and music certainly reflects my perspective on this issue.[11]

The source material I deal with is often offensive. The original singers intended it to be offensive. Understanding the past requires us to engage with uncomfortable, and in this case racist, material. I have therefore not censored any of the primary sources, reprinting the derogatory terms and unjust ideas as they originally appeared. However, I have taken care to distinguish my voice from those of nineteenth century songwriters by choosing language that is sensitive to the groups I discuss. I use the terms African American, Native American, Chinese or Asian American, and Mexican or Mexican American. The racial category of "white" has undergone significant expansion in the last century. In the era in which I am concerned, Whiteness was a much more limited category and did not include Italian, Irish, or Slavic groups.[12] To clarify the categories, I use the term "Anglo American."

[11] I must admit my debt to Michael Adas and his work on global comparative history. He argues that only by comparing American expansion to the expansion of other former European colonies is one able to understand which events and processes are exceptional and which are common global patterns in the age of colonialism. Using this method Adas argues that American expansion was neither wholly exceptional nor wholly ordinary. Instead, American history represents a unique variation of a global trend. I borrow this very useful approach and use it at the regional level. See Michael Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History," *The American Historical Review* 27, (2001), 1703.

[12] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 79.

Chapter One: Melody—Asserting Anglo American Dominance

Introduction

A melody is the most recognizable part of a song. It sits atop the chords and harmonies, louder and flashier than the rest. It is a fitting metaphor for our purposes here. Western scholars have long cast Anglo Americans in the lead role of history. The West, so told, was the story of rugged individuals, heroes conquering the land and its inhabitants. Non Anglos were "local foreign groups" or forces to be acted upon with no agency of their own. If the West was a song, Anglo Americans were the melody.[13]

Blackface Minstrelsy to the Civil War

For a time in the mid nineteenth century, Sacramento possessed the only formal theater in California. Three times a week, a small orchestra of five performers gave concerts to a crowded hall of miners. The owners of the Eagle Theater raked in hefty profits. Tickets sold for two or three dollars each and if a show sold out the owners could earn $900 in a single night. The shows were sensations since the Anglo American immigrants in California were hungry for entertainment, regardless of the cost. Despite the theater's prominence and the wealth it produced, it was in truth far from the only performance site. Every night in the gambling halls and saloons throughout California, "Ethiopian melodists" performed to packed houses. The Anglo American performers who

[13] Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History," 590; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1894).

acted as African American characters drew massive audiences which crowded the monte players and disrupted their gambling. Traveler and author Bayard Taylor enjoyed nightly performances. He listened to the songs about "Old Virginny" and observed the satisfaction on the faces of the overland emigrants. Taylor claimed the songs were "universally popular" and dubbed them the "national airs of America."[14]

Blackface minstrel performances may be the most overt way Anglo Americans used music to exert racial superiority over African Americans. In the performances, Anglo performers donned blackened faces and used exaggerated gestures and dialects to mock African Americans. The earliest forms of blackface minstrelsy originated in England. The American variation developed in the urban centers of the Northeast but also had strong ties to the West Coast, particularly San Francisco. The lives and careers of minstrel stars like Thomas Dartmouth Rice, Dan Emmet, E. P. Christy, and Stephen Foster illustrate the similarities among the leading minstrel performers. They were from the urban centers of the North, but through journeys in the South they encountered and borrowed the musical traditions of slaves. They achieved their fame in northeastern cities and western locations like San Francisco.[15]

Blackface thus was not a niche art form; it was widespread entertainment. It was extremely popular among the urban working class of the Northeast. Performers also drew large crowds as they traveled around the country, visiting the towns and camps that

---

[14] Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado; or Adventure in the Path of Empire; comprising; a Voyage to California, via Panama; Life in Fan Francisco and Monterey; pictures of the Gold region and Experiences of Mexican Travel* (New York: G. P Putnam, 1861), 275-76.
[15] Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," *American Quarterly* 27 (1975): 5-7, 16.

sprouted up in the West. Several prominent troupes did stays in New York and San Francisco. Contemporaries recognized San Francisco's importance as a minstrel city. One New York-based company went so far as to title itself the "San Francisco Minstrels."[16] *The Oregonian* published an 1852 article praising the genre. "We confess to a fondness for negro minstrelsy," the editor wrote. "There is something in [the songs] that goes directly to the heart and makes Italian trills seem tame."[17]

Lyrics of blackface songs were frequently nonsensical and played upon African American dialects. "Oh Susanna," a variation of the song by Stephen Foster, contained lyrics such as:

> *I jumped aboard de telegraph*
> *An trabbelled down de riber*
> *De Lectric fluid magnified*
> *And killed five hundred Nigger*.[18]

"Clear the Kitchen" and "World Upside Down," both by Rice, likewise contained surreal lyrics where the character of Jim Crow goes on wild adventures and encounters anthropomorphic animals who speak and wear clothes.[19] These lyrics demonstrate how Anglo audiences enjoyed seeing "black" characters in absurd situations. In essence, they were constructing an "other" to which they compared themselves. Where Anglo Americans saw themselves as calm, proper, and rational, they viewed African Americans were unintelligent, laughable, and otherworldly. Abolitionists claimed one reason slavery was evil was because it broke apart families and prevented marriage. Pro-slavery

---

[16] Jon W. Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone: Themes in 19th-Century American Popular Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 160; Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," 13.
[17] "Negro Minstrelsy," *The Oregonian*, September 11, 1852.
[18] Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*, 181-2.
[19] Ibid., 173.

advocates responded by using minstrelsy to dehumanize African Americans. In one minstrel song, the self-identified "old Virginia nigger" described himself as "half fire, half smoke, a little touch of thunder/ I'm what dey call de eighth world wonder."[20]

Another recurring theme in blackface minstrelsy was a "black" character's longing for simple agrarian life. Lyrics "faithfully reproduced the white slaveowner's viewpoint" that African Americans were suited for field work and were happy in their servitude.[21] As confederate Alexander Stephens claimed in "The Cornerstone of the Confederacy," the songs reaffirmed for white audiences that African American "subordination to the superior race (was their) natural and normal condition."[22] "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia," first published in 1847 but revised in 1878, captures "black" nostalgia well.

> *There's where the old darkey's heart am long'd to go,*
> *There's where I labored so hard for old massa,*
> *Day after day in the field of yellow corn,*
> *No place on earth do I love more sincerely*
> *Than old Virginny, the state where I was born.*[23]

"My Home in Alabam," published in 1881, displayed the same sentiment—African Americans missed slavery and never wanted to be free.

> *How the darkies used to sing, and make the banjo ring,*
> *When they'd tire from working in the cane and corn,*
> *But them days won't come back again, and it fills my heart with pain,*
> *I remember well my good old massa Sam,*
> *And it's ev'ry night I weep as I lay me down to sleep,*
> *For the dear old home I had in Alabam'.*[24]

---

[20] Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," 7, 19-20.
[21] Ibid., 18.
[22] Alexander H. Stephens, "The Cornerstone of the Confederacy," in *Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History*, ed Eric Foner (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011), 271.
[23] Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*, 201-2.
[24] Ibid., 206.

The song "Car'lina" took the same feelings and applied them to a different state.

> *Down in ole Car'lina,*
> *Oh, lubs Car'lina!*
> *For dar ole massa libs;*
> *God bless his old white head!*[25]

Furthermore, the songs claimed that the enslaved African Americans enjoyed a better life than their free counterparts in the North. As one song went:

> *Underr de shabe ob de old gum tree,*
> *We happy, happy, niggas rove,*
> *We envy not those darkies free,*
> *Our Toil and Labour's o'er.*[26]

Another song similarly claimed, "Old massa feeds us berry well, and make us work all day; But after sun is set at night, he lets us hab our way."[27]

The songs did more than reinforce a racial hierarchy; they also reinforced racial fears. Anglo Americans had long-standing anxieties about the sexual impulses of African American men. "The Yellow Rose of Texas" went:

> *There's a yellow rose in Texas*
> *That I am going to see*
> *No other darkey knows her*
> *No darkey, only me.*[28]

Though the song's lyrics present a genuine affection for the performer's "Yellow Rose," the above verse reveals that even the "black" character was concerned with the sexual exploits of his peers. She is safe only because no other "darkey" knew of her, implying

---

[25] Edwin P. Christy, *Christy's Panorama Songster: Containing the Songs as Sung by the Christy, Campbell, Pierce's Minstrels, and Sable Brothers* (New York: William H. Murphy, [1850?]), 88.
[26] Ibid., 112.
[27] Ibid., 117; Saxton argued that these sorts of lyrics were more than just the subject of minstrel songs. He claimed minstrelsy "was in and of itself a defense of slavery because its main content stemmed from the myth of the benign plantation." Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," 19.
[28] Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*, 194-5.

that the only thing protecting her from the sexual advances of African Americans was secrecy. The dual messages comforted Anglo Americans in their superiority but also warned them of the dangers of inherent moral deficiencies of African Americans.

The rampant heterosexual appetites of African Americans was a common trope among Anglo Americans well before minstrelsy developed as popular entertainment. Yet despite this stereotype, lyrics also contained homosexual subtexts. In a song that was on the surface about alcohol, one verse went:

> *I kiss him two three time,*
> *And den I suck him dry*
> *Dat jug, he's none but mine*
> *So dar you luff him lie.*[29]

Minstrel songs, then, could contain multiple derogatory meanings: heterosexual promiscuity, alcohol abuse, and homosexuality could all be present at once.

There were deeper and more layered meanings to minstrel songs that were shaped by their antebellum social context. The Anglo American community felt severe anxieties over the transformation of their society in the wake the Market Revolution, which was itself the result of concurrent revolutions in transportation and communication. Daniel Walker Howe has argued that these "Twin Revolutions" of the early nineteenth century "transformed American life."[30] During the War of Independence, self-sufficiency and economic independence were shared republican values, but improved transportation and communication integrated once isolated markets and transformed the economy of the

[29] Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," 11-12.
[30] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 2.

young Republic.[31] The growth of manufacturing disrupted the earlier systems of labor by removing work from the home, separating families as young men moved to growing urban centers in search of employment, replacing bartering systems with wage labor, and transforming gender roles so that a woman's proper place was in the home and not engaged in outside work. In the end this process removed workers from nature and separated work from all other areas of life.[32]

Anglo Americans used blackface minstrelsy to portray African Americans as former versions of themselves. The undisciplined, sexually loose, and agrarian lifestyle of blackface characters allowed urban and wage-earning Anglos to ridicule African Americans while vicariously enjoying their former ways of life. Minstrelsy allowed Anglo Americans to project their anxieties onto African Americans. Prior to 1848, terms like "Coon" were not racial slurs. Originally the word referred to rural Anglo Americans. It gradually became racially ambiguous before becoming a racial slur towards African Americans. In the revolutionary era the term "Buck" meant a handsome young man. In the early nineteenth century the connotation evolved to be a derogatory slur. In both cases the terms originally referred to un-urbanized Anglo Americans before taking on racist

---

[31] Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 32,43.

[32] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1999), 96. The fear of landless workers was deep-seated in the early republic. In a Jeffersonian democracy, men would be independent and self-sufficient land owners. For more on fears over race and the landless poor, see Edmund S. Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," *The Journal of American History* 59 (1972): 9-14; Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part I," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 342-43. Haskell takes the provocative position that the spread of market capitalism increased humanitarian sensibilities by bringing public interest to previously isolated locations in society. For further analysis of humanitarianism and capitalism which focuses on the sense of touch, see Mark M. Smith, "Getting in Touch with Slavery and Freedom," *The Journal of American History* 95 (2008): 387-91.

meanings. For the Anglo audience members, the lingering memories of a preindustrial society "proved easier to discuss when blacked up."[33]

The accumulation of these songs formed a caricature of African Americans that was an "other" to Anglo audiences. They spoke in an uneducated manner, told fantastic stories, were sexually promiscuous, and longed for simple agrarian life and their good old "massas." In essence, the caricature confirmed everything Anglo Americans wanted to believe about African American inferiority, packaged in toe-tapping melodies. As minstrel shows traveled the West performing these songs, they circulated stereotypes and thereby entertained Anglo Americans while also reassuring them of their racial supremacy.

The power dynamics of music went beyond racial lyrics in Anglo songs—musical styles and conceptions were included in the exchange. In the 1890s a new form of popular music emerged—ragtime, the precursor to jazz. Ragtime was a blend of European and African musical traditions. The syncopated rhythms were rooted in African traditions that were "superimposed [upon] European forms."[34] Like hip-hop today, many at the time felt that the music was more than a mere genre and was instead a social phenomenon which transmitted debased moral values since it was commonly heard in saloons and brothels. Its acceptance was not universal among African Americans. As Jazz

[33] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 98-100.
[34] Jeffery Magee, "Ragtime and Early Jazz," in *Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 389-90.

pianist Willie "The Lion" Smith recalled, "in those early days churchgoing Negro people would not stand for ragtime playing; they considered it to be sinful."[35]

To Anglo American listeners ragtime was not a form of music associated with unsavory deeds; it was associated with a degenerate race. Even amid its growing popularity, many condemned the music as possessing "unnatural rhythms." It was "syncopation gone mad" and ultimately an "evil music." One contemporary described it as "symbolic of the primitive morality...of the Negro type."[36] Indeed many of the musical innovations made by African Americans were met with similar responses by Anglo Americans. When African Americans sang their own stylized renditions of Christian hymns, Anglo Americans thought the music to be "a corruption of European melodies" and failed to realize that a new form a music was being created.[37]

Songs of antagonism against minorities were not merely relegated to entertainment, they resided in politics as well. The Civil War loomed large over the politics of the nineteenth century and was crucial to the development of American race relations. The Emancipation Proclamation was not signed until two years into the conflict and the Thirteenth Amendment was not ratified until four months before the War's end. The South opposed these measures but it did not secede because of them. The secession of the South was initiated by the election of Abraham Lincoln and his opposition to the expansion of slavery into the West. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 was proposed by

[35] As quoted in Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 178.
[36] Magee, "Ragtime and Early Jazz," 389-90.
[37] Jacqueline Cogdell Djedje, "African American Music to 1900," in *Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 121.

Senator Stephen Douglas in an effort to foster peace between the Northern and Southern sections of the nation. According to the act, the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" would determine whether new western states would be admitted as slave or free. The act did not achieve the peace for which it was intended. Instead Kansas erupted into violence as pro and anti-slavery advocates poured into the territory in a bitter contest that would later be called "Bleeding Kansas." Thus it was competing visions of the West that sparked the conflict, and it was in the West that the sectional divide became violent.[38] The Civil War and its music therefore deserves our attention.

Music in the nineteenth century was a vital part of a politician's campaign. When the Democratic party challenged Abraham Lincoln as president in the 1864 election, many songs were written to advance their platform and attack the emancipation proclamation. "White Solders' Song" did just that. The song was sung by northern Democrats sympathetic to the South. Put to the tune of "John Brown's Body" the song went:

> *Tell Abe Lincoln to Let the Nigger be,*
> *Tell Abe Lincoln that we don't want him free,*
> *Tell Abe Lincoln that to this he did agree,*
> *As we go marching on.*[39]

With a venomous and sarcastic tone "Fight for the Nigger" attacked Lincoln, emancipation, and the failures of the Union army all at once.

> *I calculate of darkies we soon shall have our fill,*

---

[38] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1988), 91-94. For more on Kansas and the conflict between free state and slave state advocates, as well as larger competing versions of the West, see James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47-77, 148-49.
[39] Irwin Silber, *Songs America Voted By: With the Words and Music that Won and Lost Elections and Influenced the Democratic Process* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1971), 87.

With Abe's Proclamation and the Nigger Army Bill;
Who could not be a soldier for the Union to fight?
Now, Abe's made the nigger the equal to the white.
.....
If ordered into battle, do it without delay,
Though slaughtered just like cattle, it's your duty to obey;
And when you meet the rebel, be sure and drive them back,
Though you do enslave the white man, you must liberate the black.[40]

Unlike the other songs so far discussed, these two do not portray black inferiority through impersonation or mockery. They took for granted that African Americans were the lesser race and directed their attack on those who would claim that the races were equal. Whereas minstrel songs were a form of entertainment, these songs asserted racially motivated political policy.

In 1868, while the nation faced the challenges of reconstruction, southerner M. F. Bigney wrote the lyrics to "The White Man's Banner," a song composed to promote Anglo American domination.

Come then, all free-born patriots,
Join with brave intent,
To vindicate our Father's choice,
A White Man's government!

No Carpet-bag or Negro rule,
For men who truly prize,
The heritage of glory from
Our sires, the true, the wise.[41]

The song denounced African American equality as "Negro rule." It appealed to "free-born patriots" as opposed to those freed by emancipation. Finally, the song invoked the founders of the nation, seeking to honor their vision of a government for white men, a

[40] Ibid., 88.
[41] Ibid., 100.

heritage that ought to be honored rather than reformed. The song represented the conservatism of the Post Civil war era.[42]

Political songs like "De Serenade" appealed to Anglo American fears by telling the story of a master murdered by his slaves, using the "black" dialect popular in minstrelsy. According to the song, the slaves in the Santa Domingo slave revolt bore a flag with the image of an infant's decapitated head. Then they tied up their master and murdered him with a handsaw before celebrating with their wives. Connecting the Santa Domingo revolt to contemporary politics, the lyrics went:

> *And if we understand alright de President's proclaim,*
> *He tells de Dixie niggers dey may go and do de same!*[43]

The song proposed that African Americans were too dangerous to be freed. Their nature was violent, lusty, and dimwitted. If they were free, the song proposed, they would misunderstand the law and use it to justify horrific acts of violence against Anglo Americans.

The invocation of racist language was not mere aberration in political song. To slander their reputation, candidates were often linked to African Americans. For example, "Stand by the Flag" attacked the "Treason of Lincoln's Black Crew."[44] "Captain Grant of the Black Marines" attacked Ulysses S. Grant for being a puppet of the army, an over-drinker, and unintelligent. Furthermore, the lyrics always associated Grant and his flaws

[42] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 101, 121-22.
[43] Ibid., 88.
[44] Ibid., 83.

with "the Black Marines."[45] To be an immoral Anglo, the lyrics implied, was to act African American.

Yellowface and a "Mass of Suffering"

In the East, comedic songs which mocked minorities existed alongside political songs which advocated political action. This pattern was repeated and adapted in the West. With the 1848 discovery of gold in California, swarms of migrants traveled from the eastern states in search of wealth. From Asia, Chinese workers journeyed across the ocean in pursuit of fortune. The arrival of Chinese immigrants created a new musical subject for Anglo Americans to express their dominance.

Thus minstrelsy in the West took on unique features that distinguished it from the East. Western minstrelsy inherited blackface performance but added to it caricatures of its own "other"—the Chinese. Mockery of Asian immigrants was commonplace since their first arrival, but in the 1870s a new form of minstrelsy, yellowface, gained popularity.[46] Yellowface performances were similar to blackface. The Anglo performers wore makeup and moved with gestures exaggerated and derogatory. There is some evidence that early yellowface songs were based on older blackface songs. Whereas "Ching a Ring Chaw," performed in blackface went:

Chinger ringer, ring ching, ching

[45] Ibid., 101.

[46] For more on early hostilities towards Chinese, see Judy Yung, Gordon H. Chang and H. Mark Lai, ed. *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 2-4. Increased hostility in musical form was likely an extension of the growing anti-Chinese sentiment after the economic depression of the 1870s; Mark Kanazawa, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Economic History* 65 (2005): 780-81. Kanazawa argues that the thirty year gap between the discovery of gold and the exclusion acts was due to the state income Chinese immigrants provided through the foreign miners tax.

Ho ah, Dinah ding kom darkee.

"The Artful Chinee" performed in yellowface went:

Chingaring chi, and chingaring chee
Chingaring chi for the young Chinee.[47]

It is evident therefore that the forms are related but were adapted to their specific regions and the racial communities therein.

Like the "black" Jim Crow character created in the blackface minstrel show tradition, an Asian character began to show up in the songs of the far west—John Chinaman. The anonymously authored song, aptly titled "John Chinaman," first appeared in 1855. In it the singer laments the immorality of John.

I imagined that the truth, John,
You'd speak when under oath,
But I find you'll lie and steal too-
Yes, John, you're up to both.

I thought of rats and puppies, John,
You'd eaten your last fill:
But on such slimy pot-pies, John,
I'm told you dinner still.

Oh, John, I've been deceived in you,
And in all your thieving clan,
For our gold is all you're after John,
To get it as you can.

The meaning of the song is marvelously unambiguous. Chinese immigrants, collectively represented in the personality of John, were dishonest thieves who ate puppies. There is even a twinge of disappointment in the song. The singer had originally thought John could be assimilated into American culture. He hoped that John would tell the truth and

[47] Krystyn R. Moon, *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 40-42.

give up his strange foreign diet—but he was wrong. The Chinese could never be Americans: they were only there for gold. "I've been deceived in you," the singer summarized. [48]

Like blackface songs, dialect was used to show the inferior nature of Chinese immigrants. Exaggerated mispronunciations were mixed with nonsensical gibberish to recreate how Anglo Americans perceived Chinese speech. "Chun Wow Low," published in 1882 displays this well.

> *Chun wow, low, eatum chow, chow,*
> *Chinaman a walla good likum bow wow,*
> *Litta Dog, litta cat, litta mouse, litta lat*
> *Alla wella good for to makum me fat.*

The use of exaggerated dialects and made up words like "chow" and "bow wow" was a device to demonstrate the difference of Chinese migrants. Their broken English marked them as unassimilated into American culture.[49]

Songs like the above had the psychological effect of congratulating Anglo Americans on their whiteness. But other songs reveal that Anglo Americans believed that their superiority was fragile; they used music to express the fear that Chinese immigrants posed serious social and economic threats to those of Anglo descent. "Twelve Hundred More" captures well the Anglo anxieties of the day. The singer was gravely concerned about the arrival in California of 12,000 more Chinese immigrants and the impact this would have on Anglo American workers and their families.

> *O California's coming down as you can plainly see;*
> *They are hiring all the Chinamen and discharging you and me.*
> .....

[48] Ibid., 36-37.
[49] Ibid., 42-43.

They come here by the hundreds, the country is o'errun.
And go to work at half the price - by them the labor is done.

Twelve hundred honest laboring men thrown out of work today,
By the landing of these Chinamen in San Francisco Bay.
Twelve Hundred pure and virtuous girls, in the papers I have read,
Must barter away their virtue to get a crust of bread.[50]

Chinese workers often migrated to the United States in order to send money home to support their families, and they were burdened with repaying the merchants who paid their travel expenses. Chinese immigrants therefore had little choice but to work for whatever price was offered, no matter how low. Anglo Americans naturally resented Chinese workers for undercutting their wages and taking jobs away from them. The actual economic situation was likely more complicated but this is nevertheless how Anglo workers perceived the situation at the time.[51]

But to fully understand the racial situation of the West, it is necessary to look to the East. The conclusion of the Civil War left the South economically crippled. The backbone of its economy—slavery—was destroyed. The adult male population was depleted due to the horrific levels of death from the war. Fields and farms were burnt to the ground. Combined with this situation was the southern Anglo American fear of

[50] Irwin Siber and Earl Robinson, ed. *Songs of the Great American West* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995), 140-41.
[51] "Chinese Immigration and the Chinese Exclusion Acts." Office of the Historian, accessed September 11, 2016, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration; Yung, Chang and Lai, ed. *Chinese American Voices*, 4. Even in this environment Chinese workers in some cases achieved financial success by pooling their resources together and starting businesses such as the garment industry in San Francisco; Randall E. Rohe, "Chinese Miners in the Far West," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989), 329. Rohe claims that historians' overemphasis on Chinese persecution obscures their success as miners; See also Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 202-05. Saxton argued that Chinese workers did not accept less pay than Anglos and therefore did not directly threaten their jobs.

African American sexual degeneracy. In the South, after the Civil War, many were worried about the moral depravity of African Americans and what the freedmen might do when no longer confined to servitude.[52]

The post-war South thus provides a parallel to the concerns of Western working men of Anglo descent.[53] In the South many feared that African American men would threaten the sexual virtue of Anglo women through rape or seduction. In the West, Anglos feared that Chinese labor would cripple them economically, and Anglo American women would be forced to sell their bodies to escape starvation. The cause was less direct but the result was the same; women would lose their sexual purity.[54] Although the state of California was only about twenty years old when "Twelve Hundred More" was written, the singer was nostalgic for the "days of yore" before the Chinese overran the region. "This state of things can never last in this, our golden land," the song went.[55] The song is thus about the decline of something great, about loss, about the white man's golden land crumbling to decay; never mind that the region had been controlled by Anglos for only a short while. This is strikingly similar to the sentiments of the Southern Lost Cause tradition. However, where post-war Anglo Southerners channeled their anger towards members of their own race—notably white Northerners and Republicans—"Twelve Hundred More" directed its fear and anger only towards the immigrants who

---

[52] Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 84-86, 99.
[53] Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 277; The methodology which shaped the East/West comparison has been influenced by the work of Adas. See: Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon," 1720.
[54] The anti-miscegenation laws of Arizona, in fact, imitated those of the South, demonstrating western adaptation of Eastern practices. For more, see Grace Peña Delgado, "Neighbors by Nature: Relationships, Border Crossings, and Transnational Communities in the Chinese Exclusion Era" *Pacific Historical Review* 80 (2011): 408-10.
[55] Siber and Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West*, 138-141.

worked for "half the price." There is no mention in the song of the Anglo American business owners who employed Chinese workers.[56] The events in the West then seem not to have divided Anglo Americans among themselves as the war did to the North and South. The issues in the East occurred in the West but with their own regional variations.

The fears expressed in the music eventually spurred legislative action that severely limited Chinese immigration to the United States. California passed several laws from the 1850s to the 1870s which aimed to limit Chinese immigration and discourage Chinese business. Though state measures were largely unsuccessful, the anti-immigration movement ultimately succeeded at the federal level with the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882, 1892, and 1902, which eventually blocked most immigration of Chinese laborers.[57] Anti-Chinese songs were not merely catchy tunes, with melodies and words to be sung and soon forgotten; they represent real concerns, real agendas, and explicit notions for how racial minorities ought to be treated or, in this case, excluded.

Anglo Americans not only used songs to mock the Chinese, they also failed to understand Chinese music. East Asian instruments and scales of notation were unfamiliar to the ears of those raised in music's Western European tradition. To many it was not merely music of a different kind, it was something wholly perverted. "Unnatural" was one of the most common descriptions. Chinese singers, according to Anglo American observers, used "an unnatural falsetto key." The sounds were "never used in common

---

[56] Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *Frontiers: A Short History of the American West*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 119. Anger directed towards Chinese workers instead of the Anglo bosses who hired them was a recurring theme in the West. In 1885 at Rock Springs, Wyoming, Anglo American railroad workers attacked and shot at Chinese workers and proceeded to burn and loot their homes. This occurred after the Union Pacific Railroad tried to hire cheap Chinese labor instead of paying higher wages to Anglo Americans.

[57] "Chinese Immigration and the Chinese Exclusion Acts."

conversation," wrote another. Some refused to call it music, describing it as noise, a "racket," "hideous and ludicrous," and a "mass of suffering."[58] One San Francisco newspaper called Chinese music a "barbarous noise."[59] Another claimed their orchestras produced "agonies of sound."[60] In some cases California authorities worked to suppress Chinese music. In 1870 the San Francisco police fined a Chinese man $20 for hitting a gong during a performance.[61] During an 1888 Chinese festival in San Francisco, a United States Marshal learned that a Chinese orchestra of more than forty members was to perform. He and his men intervened and sent the musicians away.[62] To those of European descent, the abhorrent sound of Asian music confirmed the superiority of Western Civilization.

Boarding Schools and Racial Destiny

Native Americans were not exempt from stereotyping in Anglo American songs.[63] Common were depictions of Natives as noble savages, members of a doomed and disappearing race. Native Americans were not as popular a target as other racial groups, but many songs similarly display Anglo American presumptions.[64] Natives were thought

[58] Moon, *Yellowface*, 12-13.
[59] "Chinese Music," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 27, 1870, 3.
[60] "Chinese Orchestra," *The Evening News*, September, 3, 1891, 2.
[61] "Chinese Musical Art," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April, 26, 1870, 3; "Chinese Music," 3.
[62] "Celestial Joy: A Band of Happy Chinamen Celebrate an Event," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, September 14, 1888, 1.
[63] Anglo Americans were of course not the only group of European descent that Native Americans encountered in the Southwest. The region was previously claimed by Spain and Mexico. For more on Spanish/Native relations, see Elizabeth A. H. John, "Indians in the Spanish Southwest," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989).
[64] Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*, 240-41, 246.

to be incapable of adapting to Anglo American ways; a counterpart to John Chinaman. "The Indian Student," a song published anonymously in 1851, was written from a Native American point of view and told the story of a student who studies the literature of western civilization but never succeeds in appreciating it.

Long have I dwelt within these walls,
And poured o'er ancient pages long,
I hate the antiquated halls;
I hate the Grecian poet's song.

Nineteenth-century intellectuals celebrated the classics of Greece and Rome and saw themselves as the heirs to antiquity's artistic and intellectual achievements. The Native American's inability to realize the brilliance of the work was not a difference of preference, it was indicative of inferiority. The student could labor long over the material but was never able to embrace it, just as the author believed he would never be able to assimilate into the Anglo American culture as a whole.[65]

My soul was formed for nobler deeds.
This form o'er Indian plains to roam,
Your bell of call no more I heed,
I long to see my native home.[66]

While some Anglos at the time were pushing for Native assimilation by way of Christian education, the song reveals that not all were optimistic about the results. Could a soul "formed for nobler deeds" successfully receive a classical education? The writer

[65] For more on the convergence of Greco/Roman culture and Native Americans, see Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 72-73, 75.
[66] Through the use of a pseudonym the composer of the song remains anonymous. However, the composition appears to be based on Scottish melodic style. The Anglo American perspective of the lyrics and the Scottish influence make it highly probably that it was composed by someone of European descent. Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*, 245.

did not think so.[67] The student rejected the education and yearned for a mystical prehistoric past. The lyrics condescend towards Natives and their inability to assimilate, but they also portray them as noble and called to another fate. Both sentiments, however, affirm the difference and the incompatibility of the races.

Though Native American characters were largely absent from minstrelsy, they were the subjects in other forms of western songs. The traditional song, "Sioux Indians," tells the story of a group of Anglo Americans who encountered hostile Native Americans while traveling west over the plains.

> *We heard of Sioux Indians all out on the plains,*
> *A-killing poor drivers and burning their trains,*
> *A-killing poor drivers with arrows and bows;*
> *When captured by Indians no mercy they'd show.*

When rumors gave way to actual attacks the Anglos fought bravely and four times defeated the Natives despite being badly outnumbered.

> *In our little band there were just twenty-four*
> *And of the Sioux Indians five hundred or more.*

The Natives, the song showed, were no match for the superior Anglo men, in accordance with the popular belief about a dying race. The song contained more than just a heroic account of courageous men with white skin. It also offered a sign of respect to the bravery of the attackers. Of the Native chief, the song went:

> *We shot their bold chief at the head of their band,*
> *He died like a warrior with a bow in his hand.*[68]

---

[67] Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 115-16. Hoxie argues that the campaign to assimilate Natives through education was waning by the end of the nineteenth century. This song, however, reveals that there was skepticism about the success of Native education before the movement formally began.
[68] Siber and Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West*, 33-35.

The noble savage was thus a worthy foe, an admirable opponent whom the Anglo Americans could respect for bravery even in defeat.[69] Nevertheless, the lives of the Sioux were worth little to the Anglos. The singer claimed the song was a sad one for they lost three men in their battles with the Sioux. A token of respect is offered to the chief but no thought is given to the other five-hundred dead. They were inconsequential.

Similar to their perception of African Americans and Asians, Anglo Americans believed that Native Americans had deficient musical ability. Hubert Howe Bancroft, in *California Pastoral*, recounts the history and culture of eighteenth and nineteenth century California. Arnaz, one of Bancroft's sources, recorded that Catholic missions formed orchestras comprised of Native Americans and taught by the mission Padres. Arnaz held the Native orchestras in low esteem. The groups were occasionally good but "often dissonant, both in playing and singing" and were therefore never invited to perform at the balls. Put simply, "the Indians could not grasp music." Note that in Arnaz's assessment, he did not say Native Americans could not grasp music of European heritage. He said they could not grasp music at all. There was no room in his analysis for music of another culture; if it was not his music, it was not music at all. Bancroft did not outright dismiss

[69] For more on Anglo American beliefs about the "noble savage" and Europeans and Natives as separate creations, see Reginald Horsman, "Racial Destiny and the Indians," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989), 227, 235. For a dissenting voice, see Francis Paul Prucha, "Scientific Racism and Indian Policy," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989), 241-45. Prucha argues that the idea of separate creations never influenced federal policy concerning Natives because it contradicted the Bible and therefore the general public would have objected to it. Ultimately, he argues that evangelicalism was more influential.

Arnaz's analysis but he did soften it. Native orchestras were "more or less good" in his judgment but he gave no evidence that they were invited to perform at balls.[70]

Anglo Americans viewed Natives as they viewed many racial minorities, as an "other." Popular in the day was the belief that Natives and Anglos were of separate creations and were different kinds of humans altogether.[71] Anglo Americans became intent on a policy of forced assimilation, in essence the destruction of Native American culture. The motives for assimilation were in many ways contradictory because they were based in a belief in Native "otherness," yet at the same time reformers believed Natives could be incorporated into Anglo society.[72] One form assimilation took was the nineteenth-century boarding schools for Native American children. The Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854 and the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliot, for example, included clauses agreeing to "furnish (Native Americans) with schools."[73]

Like many institutions in the western United States, boarding schools originated in the East but found new life west of the Mississippi. The first experiment in boarding schools for Native Americans was in Virginia in 1878 when Richard Henry Pratt enrolled seventy-two Native Americans in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, an African American school founded to educate freedmen.[74] Pratt then established a

---

[70] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral: 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888), 427.
[71] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 181. For more on "separate creations," see Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 100-03.
[72] For an exploration of the contradictory beliefs of American exceptionalism and America as a nation to be emulated by the world, see Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon."
[73] Melissa Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart: Music at Chemawa Indian School* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014), 23.
[74] "History," Hampton University, accessed September, 11, 2016, http://www.hamptonu.edu/about/history.cfm.

permanent residential school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania with the goal of indoctrinating more Native students into Anglo American culture.[75] Following Pratt's models, over the following two decades the federal government established twenty-four off-reservation boarding schools, twenty-one of which were located in the American West.

Assimilation required the systematic deconstruction of the student's Indian identity. The missionaries who ran the schools attempted this in several ways. At first the schools were day schools located near the homes of the children and their families. Anglo American educators soon realized that their work of "civilizing" the children was jeopardized by the students' proximity to their families who retained their Native identities. Off reservation boarding schools were constructed to sever the children's ties to their community. Upon arrival, a student's hair was cut in the European fashion. Their birth names were replaced with Christian names. As Native American Francis LaFlesche recorded in his memoir, "the aboriginal names were considered by the missionaries as heathenish and therefore should be obliterated." Thus names like Tae-noó-ga-wa-zhe and Koó-we-ge-ra were replaced by English names like Philip and Alexander.[76]

The Indian Industrial and Training School in Forest Grove, Oregon, was established in 1880 and serves as an example of boarding school pedagogy. The goal of the school was two-fold: first, divest the children of their Indian identities; second, assimilate them into Anglo American culture. School officials understood that music was

[75] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 24; For more on the eastern predecessors to western boarding schools, see John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).
[76] Francis LaFlesche, *The Middle Five: Indians Boys at School* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1909), xii-xiii; Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 25.

vital to Native culture. To fully divest the children of their Native identities, Native American music was banned from the school and officials sought to replace it with "civilized" music.[77] "The final rule here after cleanliness and obedience," wrote school founder Melville Cary Wilkinson, "is no Indian talk." Across the West, boarding schools forbade Native languages under the threat of physical punishment. The suppression of native "Indian talk" included a ban on Native songs. As students learned Anglo American music in the school they also learned the expected behavior of their gender, race, and class according to the Anglo American norms. In the marching bands, students learned to march in tight formation donning military garb; at dances, they learned the delicate social rules for companionship. The boys received lessons on wind and brass instruments, the girls on the piano.[78]

The musical pedagogy reveals more than broad and explicit racist beliefs; it also illuminates racial paradoxes. On one hand, instructors believed that Native American identity could be deconstructed and replaced by another more "civilized" one. Why else bother with educating Native American children? On the other hand, some believed that Natives were predestined to a lowly status; they could never escape their race and achieve full assimilation. For example, Forest Grove superintendent Reel halted the lessons boys received on wind and brass instruments and the girls received on pianos. He deemed the

[77] Ibid., 32.
[78] Ibid., 26, 28, 33.

lessons wasteful. The instruments, after all, were expensive and were therefore ones they would likely "never own."[79]

Similarly, boarding school educators romanticized the "very behaviors and Indian-ness the schools sought to eradicate." Students were sometimes asked to perform songs about their people, songs which often portrayed them as noble yet doomed.[80] Although Native languages were banned, these performances were often an exception when guests, out of curiosity, would ask to hear tribal songs in the students' original languages.[81]

The Alamo and a Would-be-Virtuoso

Men and women of Mexican ancestry were not immune to racial taunts in Anglo American song lyrics. The Battle of the Alamo inspired one example. The Texas Revolution was spurred by Anglo American settlers who had immigrated to Texas, then a Mexican province, but were resistant to the country's central government. They rebelled against it in 1835. During the Texas Revolution, 187 Anglo Texans were besieged in the Alamo, a church in San Antonio, for nearly two weeks. When the Mexican army finally breached the walls, Mexican President and General Santa Anna ordered his soldiers to take no prisoners. Other than a small number of women and children, all the Texans were killed. Frontier legend Davy Crockett was among those who died.

---

[79] Ibid., 32. For more on the tensions between improvement and racial determinism, see Horsman, "Racial Destiny and the Indians," 226-27; Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 191-98; Erna Fergusson, *Dancing Gods; Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957), xiii-xxvi.
[80] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 32.
[81] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, ed. E. A. Brininstool (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 166-67.

The battle became a legend. When Virginia-born Texan revolutionary Sam Houston addressed his army before the battle of San Jacinto in 1836, he used the loss as motivation. “The army will cross and we will meet the enemy. Some of us may be killed, must be killed; but, soldiers, remember the Alamo! The Alamo! The Alamo!”[82] San Jacinto was the decisive battle in the revolution, Texan forces prevailed, Mexican President Santa Anna was captured, and Mexico signed a treaty creating the Texas Republic.[83]

A famous song resulted from Houston's inspiring speech. “Remember the Alamo” called the soldiers to vengeance upon the Mexicans for the loss at the Alamo:

> *Heed not the Spanish battle yell,*
> *Let every stroke we give them tell,*
> *And let them fall as Crockett fell,*
> *Remember the Alamo!*
>
> *For every wound and every thrust,*
> *On prisoners deal by hands accurst,*
> *A Mexican shall bite the dust,*
> *Remember the Alamo*
>
> *As ye smite the murderous horde,*
> *Remember the Alamo!*[84]

The lyrics included a racial ideology. Their enemy was not a respectable foe but a “Mexican brigand.” Emphasizing the cruelty of Santa Ana, this song helped Anglo

[82] Siber and Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West*, 47.
[83] “Battle of San Jacinto,” Encyclopedia Britanica, accessed September 11, 2016, https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-San-Jacinto; “Alamo,” Encyclopedia Britanica, last modified July 13, 2015, https://www.britannica.com/place/Alamo#ref1032376; “Sam Houston,” Encyclopedia Britanica, last modified May 22, 2015, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sam-Houston.
[84] Siber and Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West*, 48.

Americans reinforce their belief that they brought peace, stability, and order to the region.[85]

Anglo Americans also thought little of the innate musical talent of people of Mexican ancestry. A piano in the nineteenth century was a symbol of status. It was a sign of respectability in the newly emerging middle class.[86] In Bancroft's *California Pastoral*, we see how these sensibilities were applied to race. When California businessman Thomas O. Larkin held a ball in 1842, he adorned the party with one of the three pianos then in California. It did not matter to him that no one could play it. The piano's mere presence was enough to make a statement about his wealth and sophistication. However, to the amazement of everyone at the ball, a young Mexican boy named Pedro Estrada figured out how to play the piano "although he had never touched one before." The boy was a prodigy. Those present discussed sending him to Mexico to be educated in music but it was decided not to because "a carpenter [was] more useful than a musician."[87]

This sad story of a might-have-been-virtuoso provides the historian with an analytical challenge. It is strange that a carpenter would have been of more value than a

[85] When Anglo American settlers gained control of Texas, they brought with them the institutions of the East. Their Southern counterparts used music to express their belief in "A White Man's Government" and decried "Negro Rule." Likewise Anglo Americans in post Reconstruction Texas passed legislation to bar African American enfranchisement. The "White Man's Primaries" were enacted in several East Texas counties and kept minorities from voting. In 1902, the state implemented a poll tax which charged $1.50 to $1.75 per voter which was the equivalent of a day's wages for African American laborers. The targets of these voting restrictions were African Americans but in practice they disenfranchised Mexican American workers as well. As the politics of the East moved into the West, the other racial minorities fell victim to Anglo dominance. For more on Anglo American political songs, see Silber, *Songs America Voted By*, 100. For more on voting restrictions, see David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 27.
[86] William Brooks, "The American Piano," in *The Book of the Piano*, ed. Dominic Gill (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981), 183-4. For more on how pianos were transported to the West, see Ruth Anderson, "Music on the Move: Instruments on the Western Frontier," *Overland Journal* 5 (1987): 32-33.
[87] Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 428.

musician since Bancroft stressed the importance of music in Californian culture. Talented musicians were often called upon to perform. Bancroft states that, "all [Mexican] Californians could...play the vihuela or the guitar." He was surely overstating the facts but the point is understood—Californians loved music.[88] One could argue that the abundance of musicians kept Pedro Estrada from being useful. But pianists were a rare thing in those days. The supply of instruments was low but the piano represented middle class respectability.

Race was not explicitly stated as the reason Pedro was of more value carving wood than performing but it is difficult to imagine that it was not a factor. Anglo Americans saw themselves as superior to Mexican Americans. They were the dominant class; it was Mexican Americans who were the workers, the laborers; and in this case, the carpenter.

Cross Racial Lyrics

Sometimes songs transcended racial distinctions, mocking multiple groups at once. "Me no shabee," exclaimed a Chinese character in the minstrel song "California Bank Robber." The Chinese character is unable to speak proper English, confirming their unassimilable nature. But the word "shabee" is derived from the Spanish verb *saber*, "to know/understand." The mixture of languages reveals a "fluidity of prejudice" among Anglo Americans. Derogatory statements directed at one group flowed into others.[89]

[88] Ibid., 426.
[89] Moon, *Yellowface*, 33.

When the Mexican American War broke out in 1846, the Nation expected a quick and easy victory over an inferior enemy. To express this sentiment, new lyrics were put to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" which went:

> *They attacked our men upon the land*
> *And crossed the river too, sir*
> *Now show them all with sword in hand*
> *What Yankee boys can do, sir*

Anglo Americans sang the patriotic song with an Irish accent. As David Blight has summarized, they were "making fun of the Irish while [they] make fun of the Mexicans, while [they] recruit the Irish to go fight in Mexico."[90] The same form was used against African Americans and Chinese immigrants a generation later. The 1870 song "Niggers vs. Chinese" was written from the "black" perspective and communicated exactly what the name implied.

> *Dey cannot learn to play the fiddle,*
> *Or pick the old banjo*
> *Or stave de head ob de jamborine*
> *Dey are so mighty slow.*[91]

Those who believed in Anglo American superiority did not always confine their ridicule to a single group. The songs which conveyed those beliefs occasionally defied simple categories. In a way, it did not matter where a group fell on the perceived racial hierarchy. If they were not Anglo Americans they were targets of mockery.[92]

---

[90] David Blight, "Expansion and Slavery: Legacies of the Mexican War and the Compromise of 1850," January 31, 2008, 24:07, Open Yale Courses, Yale University, http://oyc.yale.edu/history/hist-119/lecture-6#transcript.
[91] Moon, *Yellowface*, 48.
[92] How minority groups ranked relative to each other is not easy to discern and will be further discussed below.

Music and Memory

In contrast to the popularity of racist song lyrics were songs that conveniently overlooked race. "The Bonnie Blue Flag" by composer Harry MaCarthy was advertised during the Civil War as a "Southern patriotic song," and that it was. According to the lyrics the South was kind and just until their rights were threatened by Northern treachery. The South was "fighting for liberty."

> *Rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer,*
> *So cheer for the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.*[93]

MaCarthy's depiction of the war was focused entirely on the South's righteousness, both in its cause and its brave soldiers. The lyrics omitted any mention of slavery or African Americans. This reveals another theme in the methods Anglo Americans used to exert cultural dominance. They embraced songs about race so long as it mocked other races. However, when advantageous, Anglos used song to construct histories entirely free of other races. There were no blacks around during the Civil War, one would surmise from the lyrics of "The Bonnie Blue Flag."[94]

The song "Mustang Gray" also offered a retelling of history that flatters the history tellers. The true name of Mustang Gray was Maberry B. Gray. Born in South Carolina, he migrated to Texas in 1835. There he fought for Texan independence and afterwards became a cattle rancher notorious for "unprovoked violence directed against

---

[93] Richard Crawford, ed., *The Civil War Songbook: Complete Original Sheet Music for 37 Songs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), 17-20.

[94] For more on memory and the Confederacy, see Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (2nd Edition)* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 100, 119. For a broader analysis, see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 3. Blight argues that in order to foster reconciliation after the Civil War, the North and South ignored issues of racial justice. Thus the nation was healed at the expense of African Americans and their rights.

all Mexicans." During the Mexican American War he led a band of rangers aptly titled the "Mustang Grays." S. Compton Smith's 1857 description of the gang was far from positive. These "So-called Texas Rangers," he wrote, "whole object was plunder." Mustang Gray led his men in sacking the rancho of Guadalupe and "in cold blood murdered almost the entire male population."[95]

The horrific acts committed by Mustang Gray are overlooked in the song which bears his name. The fictionalized Gray was a "Brave old Texan," who defended Texas from a "mighty tyrant foe" by "mounting his noble warhorse." The chorus lamented the death of Gray by saying:

> *But he'll go no more a-ranging,*
> *The savage to affright*
> *He has heard his last war whoop*
> *And fought in his last fight.*

Not only were his crimes against Mexicans omitted, his relationship with them was mischaracterized. As depicted in the lyrics, when he was caught in prison, a Mexican woman fell in love with him and helped him escape.

> *God bless the Señorita,*
> *The Belle of Monterey;*
> *She opened wide the prison door*
> *And let him ride away.*

Rather than a violent man, infamous for his crimes against Mexicans and his desire for plunder, the song's version of Gray was a brave hero, fighting against tyrants and beloved by the very people he fought against.[96] Except when Anglo Americans wanted to contrast

[95] Compton S. Smith, *Chile Con Carne, or, The Camp and the Field* (New York: Miller & Curtis, 1857), 294; Siber and Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West*, 60.
[96] Ibid.

themselves against others to show their superiority or create a justification for conquest, their history could misrepresent or be suspiciously absent of racial minorities.

Conclusion

Racial beliefs in the nineteenth-century American West were real yet often formless and difficult to define. They could vary from race to race and person to person; containing a multitude of convictions and contradictions. To the Anglo American mind Native Americans were simultaneously a worthy foe and a primitive savage. Some Anglos believed that race could be transcended though laws and education. Others held it to be deterministic and inescapable. Why teach Native American to play expensive instruments? They will never afford them anyway. Why send a piano prodigy to music school? He was Mexican and better suited for labor. Through exaggerated renderings of the African American dialect and mannerisms, minstrel shows affirmed Anglo supremacy. Yet the same musical form also rehearsed Anglo fears by reminding the audience of African American "otherness" and focusing on their perceived simple and sexual nature.

It is clear, then, that in simple yet vivid ways music reveals to us the tandem convictions of supremacy and fear, determinism and transcendence. Music helps us to make sense of these complicated and convoluted racial conceptions held by Anglo Americans. It makes comprehensible the race relations and power differences without polishing or oversimplifying the harsh reality, the brutal truth of Anglo American dominance. But music tells us more than that. It also reveals a story of resistance.

Interlude One: Instruments

The story of the Banjo captures well the sound and complexities of music and race in the nineteenth century. Although today it is often thought of as the whitest of musical instruments, Laurent Dubois has pointed out that the banjo "was the first truly 'African' instrument."[97] The instrument developed out of "the entire spectrum of stringed instruments on the continent and it emerged from the cross-pollination between West and Central African musical cultures."[98] Through the Atlantic slave trade, Africans from numerous cultures were brought together and relocated to the New World. The process of pulling slaves from various areas around West Africa meant that the slaves developed a pan-African identity in the New World. Through the amalgamation of African cultures, the banjo emerged. Specifically, the banjo first appeared in the Caribbean. The first image of one was from Jamaica in 1701. It is unclear how but the instrument arrived in New York by 1736.[99]

It was through blackface minstrelsy that the banjo was brought to the Anglo American masses. Joel Walker Sweeney was the first to incorporate it into minstrel shows. Raised on a tobacco farm in Virginia, Sweeney likely learned to play the banjo from the slaves who worked his father's small farm or those of the plantation next door. His talent was obvious. He embarked on a career as an entertainer and, influenced by the

[97] Laurent Dubois, *The Banjo: America's African Instrument* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 91.
[98] Ibid., 22-23. For more on African musical patterns and their transmission to America, see Rath, "Hearing American History," 419-20.
[99] Dubois, *The Banjo*, 65, 73.

methods of Thomas Dartmouth Rice, began to darken his face when he performed with the instrument.[100]

Nineteenth-century Anglo Americans recognized the banjo as part of African American culture. As such, to be accepted by mass audiences, the instrument and sound needed to be adapted to fit Anglo American musical sensibilities—it needed to be Anglicized. Historian Bob Carlin regards Sweeney as "the Elvis Presley of his time, a white man who could sing like a black man."[101] Blackface minstrelsy, by placing African American music in the context of derogatory performance, allowed the public to engage African American culture while keeping it at arm's length.[102]

The use of the banjo in minstrelsy did not signify the instrument's end among African Americans. It became a shared feature in African American and Anglo American culture throughout the rest of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century.[103] Through traveling minstrel shows the instrument found new audiences and players across the country. To keep up with the growing demand, banjos began to be mass produced rather than constructed individually. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was popularly regarded as "America's Instrument."[104]

As pioneers and minstrel shows traveled west across the plains, they brought banjos with them. It was the small, portable instruments which made the journey first; banjos, guitars, and most popularly, the fiddle. There is evidence that the banjo had

[100] Ibid., 168-169.
[101] As quoted in Dubois, *The Banjo*, 170.
[102] Magee, "Ragtime and Early Jazz," 389.
[103] Dubois, *The Banjo*, 239.
[104] Ibid., 213-15.

reached the Southwest in the 1830s, a decade before the Mexican American War. Further traversing racial bounds, the banjo was used in Spanish dances, or fandangos, in the Southwest. "Melody, harmony, fiddle, banjo...all is common to all occasions," wrote one pioneer of an 1831 fandango in Taos, New Mexico. Mexicans, Native Americans, and Anglo Americans commonly attended these dances, giving the instrument a far reaching audience.[105]

The banjo was central to the development not just of stage performances, but of genres too. Its influence is clearly seen in ragtime's unique syncopated rhythms. The central instrument of ragtime was the piano, an old instrument which was played in a new way. The right hand of the piano player would accentuate the off beat, a style of play some argue is directly adopted from the right hand technique of banjo players. Jazz, the direct descendent of ragtime, embraced its syncopated rhythms but added brass instruments and the wailing sound of another African American genre—the blues.[106]

The influence of the banjo was felt in the early days of several distinctly American musical genres. It represents a bridge between African and Anglo American tastes. Its origins are found in the exile of enslaved Africans and its history is tied to the derogatory performances of blackface minstrelsy. When one hears the banjo today, they are witnessing an instrument saturated in a long and rich story of race.

It was not, however, the only instrument entangled in the complexities of race in America. The accordion was brought to northern Mexico and the American southwest by

---

[105] David Dary, *Seeking Pleasure in the Old West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 282, 12-14.
[106] Samuel Charters, *The Roots of the Blues: An African Search* (Boston: M. Boyars, 1981), 20-22.

German immigrants in the mid nineteenth century. It became a popular instrument because it was portable, easy to play and could provide accompaniment to other common instruments like the fiddle and guitar. German immigrant musicians in the Mexican State of Sinaloa, for example, often formed ad hoc ensembles that performed for mixed race audiences.[107] The instrument caught on among Mexican listeners and by the end of the nineteenth century it was frequently performed at weddings and dances.[108]

When the accordion was blended with Mexican *corridos*, a new genre developed called norteño in Mexico and Tex-Mex in the United States. The genre drew from the vocal style of *corridos* with its nasal tone and elongated notes at the conclusion of a musical phrase. Rhythmically, it incorporated the double meter of German polkas. A subset of norteño/Tex-Mex is conjunto, which was born of the same influences but deemphasized the ballad vocal style in favor of accordion-led dance music.[109]

String ensembles remained popular in the West as well. In the 1930s these groups were often replaced by brass bands from the banda genre. Banda music was influenced by the rhythms and brass instruments of swing music invented by African Americans. However, Banda was also influenced by European waltzes and was frequently played in a triple meter.[110] Music of the Southwest and northern Mexico grew out of an amalgamation of styles, drawing from Spanish, German and African American influences.

---

[107] Helena Simonett, *Banda: Mexican Musical Life across Borders* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 108-109.
[108] Michael Broyles, "Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century," in *Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 150.
[109] Elizabeth F. Barkley, *Crossroads: The Multicultural Roots of America's Popular Music* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 251-52.
[110] Broyles, "Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century," 150.

Examining instruments gives insight into racial interaction and studying racial interaction exposes the roots of modern music. Mexicans and Mexican Americans play the accordion but it was introduced to them by the Germans; Anglos play the banjo but it was invented by African slaves. Instruments popular today often originated in unexpected places. If one knows what to listen for, they can hear in popular music a long history of cross-racial musical exchange.

Chapter Two: Dissonance—Countering the Anglo American Melody

Introduction

Dissonance is the sound of musical notes competing with one another. It is a lack of harmony and a sound filled with tension. Though Anglo Americans did conquer and the United States rolled itself out over the plains and fields to the continent's end, their triumph was not absolute. Resistance took many forms; music was one of them. To counter the melody of Anglo Americans, minority racial groups sang their own songs; some adopted Anglo traditions but infused them with their own beliefs and culture, giving them new life and new meaning. In their various ways, each of the races in the West used music to exert their own dominance and oppose Anglo American supremacy.[111]

Spirituals and African American Performers

The Jubilee Singers of Fisk University embarked on a concert tour of the western states in 1890. The ensemble had already toured in the East and even in Europe, raising funds for the university. In January of that year, they performed before a packed house in

[111] Some scholars argue that indigenous people groups were so oppressed by the process of European colonialism that their voices are in essence unrecoverable and any attempt to uncover the voices of the subaltern people is futile. For more on this debate, see Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 194-96. Scholars of the American West have largely rejected this perspective, especially adherents of the New Western History. See Patty Limerick, "Examining 'The Heart of the West,'" *The Public Historian* 31 (2009): 96. Limerick argues that there is no greater crime a historian can commit than to make a story boring or to deny its significance. I am in agreement. A sober recognition of oppression should not obscure minority agency. See also, Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 37. Deloria argues that Native presence in the United States forced Anglo depictions of them to constantly shift. Thus their very existence was a form of agency. For more on the problems of obscuring minority history, see John R. Wunder and Pekka Hämäläinen, "Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays," *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 1232.

Healdsburg, California. The audience was enamored by their renditions of "Steal Away to Jesus" and "Swing Low Sweet Chariot." The following day the *Healdsburg Enterprise* praised the performance, noting that "the Jubilee Singers are deserving of a crowded house wherever they may go."[112] Several newspapers gave similar reviews of their concerts, where the singers frequently included slave songs.[113]

Spirituals were not new, but they did reach a new audience. It was not until the reconstruction era that slave songs reached the general public, in large part due to the Jubilee Singers and similar African American choral groups that they inspired.[114] *Jubilee Songs: as Sung by the Fisk Jubilee Singers*, a collection of spirituals, was published in the 1870s, spreading the songs beyond their performances.[115]

The Jubilee Singers and the songs they performed demonstrate that African Americans were not mere victims of Anglo song. African American voices resounded in counterpoint to the oppression they faced. Still, to reduce all of their music to a reaction towards Anglo Americans is to give Anglo Americans too great an influence on African American song. African Americans sang of more than slavery; they sang of love, loss, death, family, and God. Their songs could be serious, playful, functional, and

---

[112] "The Jubilee Singers," *Healdsburg Enterprise*, January 8, 1890, 3.
[113] "The Fisk Jubilee Singers," *Daily Alta California*, April 23, 1890, 1; "The Jubilee Singers," *Daily Alta California*, January 3, 1890, 8.
[114] Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971), 249-51. Southern's detailed work is a helpful resource for anyone studying the history of African American music. Her analysis, however, is somewhat mistaken. Her goal seems to have been to empower African Americans today. Southern's analysis celebrates African American history but does so by downplaying instances of oppression. Her work often overlooks injustices African Americans endured but is nevertheless a helpful guide through their music.
[115] Ibid., 173-74.

sentimental. It is equally mistaken, however, to ignore the thoughts on race, justice, and Anglo Americans that African Americans expressed in music.[116]

Negro spirituals are an example. The meaning of Negro spirituals were often more elusive than modern listeners expect. Frederick Douglass, when he himself was a slave, thought of them as "rude and apparently incoherent songs." The problem did not lie in the songs themselves, however. Douglass admitted as much. With age and perspective he came to regard the songs as powerful. "They were tones, loud, long and deep, breathing the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains."[117]

To understand Douglass' meaning, it is necessary to discuss African American religious belief. African American Protestant theology often transcended the categories of Anglo beliefs even as both groups used similar religious language around themes of bondage, freedom, and deliverance. It was once argued that these similarities disprove any originality in the slave songs; Anglos after all used the same language in a purely spiritual sense. A deeper look, however, reveals that African Americans drew very different meaning from the shared language and text.[118] Both groups read the same bible, but where Anglos saw biblical stories as things to be interpreted and analyzed to discern morality, the African American community understood the stories as something to be lived in the present. Lyrics such as "Where were you when they crucified my Lord?" are

---

[116] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 239.
[117] Irwin Silber, ed., *Soldier Songs and Home-Front Ballads of the Civil War* (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), 26.
[118] Ibid., 22.

evidence of this condensing of time. African Americans understood that the crucifixion occurred in another time and place, but their hermeneutic broke the story free from its historical context.[119] The biblical narrative was not merely history or allegory, it was a collection of living stories.[120]

Furthermore, African Americans understood, or rather lived, the biblical stories in a way that countered Anglo American supremacy and anticipated racial justice. Like the Hebrews, they were enslaved in Egypt; they were wandering with Moses in the wilderness, looking for a promised land, and like Israel they were exiles in Babylon. They flipped Anglo American religious patriotism upside down by imagining America not as the promised land but as Egypt.[121]

From this theological perspective, lyrics such as "I'm bound for Canaan land," take on a powerful and subversive nature.[122] When slave workers sang…

> *Go down Moses,*
> *Way down in Egypt land.*
> *Tell old Pharaoh,*
> *"Let my People go,"*

---

[119] Matthew Harper, "Emancipation and African American Millennialism," in *Apocalypse and the Millennium in the American Civil War Era*, ed. Ben Wright (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 160.

[120] For an overview of Anglo American religion, see Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73,93. Noll's book is perhaps the best book on Anglo American religion in the early Republic. He argues that Anglo Protestantism in America was the result of a synthesis of evangelical republicanism and common sense moral philosophy. This synthesis resulted in a shared hermeneutical approach to interpreting scripture. However, the consensus eventually collapsed in the debate over slavery as both pro and anti slavery proponents drew arguments from the Bible with the same underlying presuppositions yet could not reach a shared conclusion. For more on African American theology and this synthesis, see Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 64-72.

[121] Eddie S. Glaude, *Exodus!: Religion, Race, and Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century Black America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 48.

[122] "Bound for Canaan Land," Negro Spirituals, accessed May 23, 2016, http://www.negrospirituals.com/songs/bound_for_canaan_land.htm.

They sang of emancipation. [123]

When they sang…

He delivered Daniel from de lion's den
Jonah from de belly of de whale
An' de Hebrew chillun from de fiery furnace
An' why not every man
.....
Can't you see it's coming,
Can't you see it's coming,
Can't you see it's coming.

they anticipated, and they expected deliverance.[124]

Though their hands and feet were bound, African American song and theology broke free from the confines of time and location.[125] Freed from those restraints, they found victory with Joshua, walked along Zion's hill, and above all dreamt of freedom.

Of the people here considered, African Americans made up the smallest proportion of the West's population in the nineteenth century. However, they were not absent.[126] In the first decades of the nineteenth century, African American performers and songwriters were based mostly in the urban centers of the North. By the century's end, African American performers toured the entirety of the nation, bringing their musical

---

[123] Nicole Beaulieu Herder and Ronald Herder, ed., *Best-Loved Negro Spirituals: Complete Lyrics to 178 Songs of Faith* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2001), 22; For the rendition performed by the Fisk Jubilee Singers, see Jubilee Singers, *Jubilee songs: as sung by the Jubilee singers, of Fisk university* (New York: Biglow & Main, [1872?]).

[124] H. A. Chambers, ed., *The Treasury of Negro Spirituals* (New York: Emerson Books, 1963), 24; Levine, Black Culture, 51; A variation of the song can also be found in William Francis Allen, et al., *Slave Songs of the United States; The Complete Original Collection (136 Songs)* (New York: Oak Publications, 1965), 148; Glaude, *Exodus!*, 53-55. Glaude takes this argument further by claiming that African American religious language also helped forge African American collective identity.

[125] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 32-33.

[126] For a historiography of African Americans in the West see, Quintard Taylor, "People of Color in the West: A Half Century of Scholarship," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 42 (2011); Gerald D. Nash *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 83-84; Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboys* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965).

traditions to Anglo audiences everywhere. “Big Shows,” for example, were African American musical comedies that toured coast to coast. Performers like the Black Patti Troubadours performed from Florida to Vancouver, British Columbia, including a week-long stay in San Francisco. The group also played in smaller cities where they received warm welcomes. The Tacoma, Washington, *Daily News*, for example, claimed Black Patti was “recognized the world over as the greatest singer of her race.” Advertising a performance on the same tour, the Portland *Sunday Oregonian* described the show as “supreme,” claiming it “never fails to please everybody.” It went on to tell readers that “it is not uncommon for audiences to reward Black Patti’s song with cheers, hearty and vociferous.” Ernest Hogan likewise traveled as far as the Pacific, visiting British Columbia, Hawaii, and Australia.[127]

The evolution of African American performers and the means by which they became successful is rich with insights into power and exploitation. Anglo American songwriters would sometimes adopt a “black” persona in a song. The lyrics would then confirm Anglo American beliefs about African Americans such as their suitability for manual labor and their affection towards the masters who held them in bondage.[128] As with all the themes explored so far, dissonance could take on surprising forms. In some cases, African Americans would also embrace these stereotypes in their songs. The career of African American musician James Bland is one such example. Bland was born in 1854 in Flushing, New York, and was never bound in the chains of slavery. In 1878, he wrote

[127] “Amusements,” *Tacoma Daily News*, January, 22, 1989, 2; “The Stage,” *The Sunday Oregonian*, January 23, 1898, 15; Lynn Abbot and Doug Seroff, *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, "Coon Songs," and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 38-39.
[128] These themes were discussed further in chapter one.

"Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," a nostalgic song about the good old days of forced labor. Of his "old Virginny," Bland wrote:

> *There's where I labored so hard for my master,*
> *Day after day in the field of yellow corn,*
> *No place on earth do I love more sincerely*
> *Than old Virginny, she's the state where I was born.*
>
> *There's where my old weary life will pass away,*
> *Master and Mistress have long gone before me,*
> *Soon we will meet on the bright and golden shore*
> *There we'll be happy and free from all sorrow*
> *There's where we'll meet and we will never part no more.*[129]

Not only was the character of the former slave content in his bondage, he longed for the day on heaven's "bright and golden shore" where he would be forever united with his master. Bland endorsed the very ideas about slavery and paternalism that Anglo Americans projected onto African Americans. Whether he believed these things in his private life is open to speculation. What is clear, however, is that he took advantage of the culture's racial stereotypes and used them for his own gain.[130]

Bland was widely popular, touring across the United States and Europe. "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny" was not his only famous song. He wrote many minstrel songs that found an audience among Anglo and African Americans alike. Songs like "Oh, Dem Golden Slippers," a bittersweet song about the end of the singer's life, carried no racial overtones.[131] But "Old Virginny" was his most popular. It was a hit in his own day and performed by many minstrel groups. In 1940 it became the official state song of Virginia,

---

[129] Theodore Raph, ed., *The American Song Treasury: 100 Favorites* (New York: Dover, 1986), 185-87.
[130] For more on African American participation in Blackface minstrelsy, see Eileen Southern, ed, "Black Musicians and Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy," in *Inside the Minstrel Mask: Readings in Nineteenth-Century Blackface Minstrelsy*, ed. Annemarie Bean et al. (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 43.
[131] Raph, *The American Song Treasury*, 188-91; Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 265-67.

retaining the title until 1997 when it was designated as the "Official State Song Emeritus."[132] Bland's most popular song betrayed the cause of justice for his race and embraced the racist presumptions of Anglo Americans. It was dissonance, inharmonious and filled with tension, but a very personal form of resistance.

Bland was not alone. After the Civil War, many African American performers incorporated the tropes of blackface minstrelsy into their acts, wearing blackface makeup and invoking racial stereotypes in their songs and mannerisms. This was often because it was the only performance option available to them; natural born singers and performers could choose to either embrace the racist forms of entertainment or stifle their talent.[133]

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, minstrel shows, so popular in the midcentury, were replaced by other forms of music. Coon songs became a popular way for Anglo Americans to exploit African American difference in song. Coon songs were a form of ragtime music, which itself was a precursor of jazz, featuring a singer who used an exaggerated dialect caricaturing African Americans. The racist lyrics and diction of coon songs allowed Anglo Americans to engage with African American music and culture while retaining a distance and sense of superiority.[134] Within this new form of music African Americans found numerous ways in which to engage popular culture.

African American songwriter Ernest Hogan capitalized on the racial stereotypes in coon songs. His 1896 song "All Coons Look Alike to Me" became a national hit and was very popular among Anglo American audiences. The song appealed to the

---

[132] "Carry me Back to Old Virginia," State Symbols USA, accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.statesymbolsusa.org/symbol/virginia/state-song/carry-me-back-old-virginia.
[133] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 269-270.
[134] Magee, "Ragtime and Early Jazz," 389; Abbot and Seroff, *Ragged but Right*, 11.

sentiments of Jim Crow society by viewing African Americans as a group rather than as individual persons. When in May of 1897 a Chicago Policeman mistakenly shot the wrong African American during an altercation, he simply explained, "All niggers look alike to me." Sherman H. Dudley, a contemporary of Hogan, recalled that when he was on tour in 1899 "Every time I would pass a little white child, it would start singing 'All Coons Look Alike to Me,' and those who could not sing would whistle it."[135]

Despite the popularity of the song, and though many African American songwriters spoke out against it, Ernest Hogan's contemporaries never rejected him. Regardless of his embrace of racist musical forms and despite helping fasten the label of "coon" upon African Americans, Hogan and his fellow songwriters who invoked racist forms in music remained a model for African American performers. The following generation of performers emulated him, and thus he "forever altered the face of American Entertainment." His colleagues seemed to have recognized that he was navigating a precarious balancing act as a black performer in Anglo society.[136]

Many African American performers parodied Hogan's "All Coons Look Alike to Me" in an effort to confront the song's racist message. Singer Billy McClain performed the song in German. Billy Miller sang it as "All Spaniards Look Alike to Me." In the musical comedy "A Trip to Coontown," an African American performed "All Chinks Look Alike to Me." It was a rendition that the *Freeman* newspaper claimed was "worth the price of admission" by itself.[137]

---

[135] Ibid., 14.
[136] Ibid., 14, 37-38.
[137] Ibid., 15.

Parody was not the only form of resistance to the stereotyping in coon songs. In 1902 the songwriting team of Bob Cole, James Weldon Johnson, and J. Rosamond Johnson wrote "Under the Bamboo Tree." The trio confronted the popular stereotypes by flipping them on their head. Rather than sing the song in the real or exaggerated dialect of African Americans, the song was set in the imaginary land of "Matabooloo" and used a completely invented African dialect. The lyrics themselves are a sentimental love song.[138]

Ragtime music reveals contentions between Anglo and African Americans as well as contentions within the African American community. In sometimes completely opposite ways, African American musicians carved out a space for themselves in the broader culture. Some embraced stereotypes to allow themselves a career. Others parodied and countered those stereotypes. It was not a unified effort with clearly defined goals; in various ways African Americans used music to empower themselves.[139]

The Corridos of the Southwest

At the conclusion of the Mexican American war in 1848, the Mexican government ceded half of the nation's territory to the United States. The war was initiated by the annexation of Texas by the United States; in the end it also gained the territory of what would become the states of New Mexico, Arizona, California, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado. Many Mexican citizens now found themselves suddenly living in the United States. As such, they were forced to engage with a dominant culture that considered them

[138] Magee, "Ragtime and Early Jazz," 393.
[139] Anglo Americans also created negative depictions of Native Americans. For a parallel look into how Native Americans used those depictions for their own gains, see Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 8.

racially inferior. As Stephen Austin, the so-called father of Texas, made explicit, "My object, the sole and only desire of my ambition since I first saw Texas, was to redeem it from the wilderness—to settle it with intelligent, honorable and enterprising people."[140] By claiming the land needed people of this kind, Austin shows that he believed the Mexicans who were already in the land were not intelligent, honorable, or enterprising.[141]

At the same time the Southwest traded hands, gold was discovered in California, further transforming the region. In fact, Mexico relinquished control of the region one week after gold was discovered at Sutters Mill. In the first two years after the discovery of gold, nearly 200,000 Anglo American immigrants rushed into California. Nearly overnight the Spanish speaking population became ethnic minorities in what was once their country.[142] In the thirty years from 1850 to 1880, for example, the Mexican American population of Los Angeles shrunk from 82% to 20%.[143]

---

[140] Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836; A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 233.

[141] Eight years after the Treaty of Guadalupe the U.S. purchased an additional 30,000 square miles of land from Mexico. For more on the transition between Mexican and U.S. governments, see Cadava, "Borderlands of Modernity and Abandonment," 365-66. For a longer analysis of the transition of power in the region which includes a history of race and Spanish rule, see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 829-38.

[142] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 19.

[143] Ibid., 21; Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History," 590. Pomeroy argued that Mexican influence in the West was exaggerated. However, the sheer number of Mexicans in the region disproves his conclusion. African Americans were present in the region as well but the racial hierarchies were more complex than in the British colonies where large populations of African descent were excluded from the Anglo community, leading to the development of a distinct African American culture. Whereas in the Southwest, a territory previously controlled by Spain where pure Spanish blood was desirable and denoted high social status, Africans adopted the language, religion, and customs of the Spanish and never formed a unique community. Rather than a hard racial line, it was a graduated hierarchy of race. Several mixed race categories were developed such as a Mestizo and Mulatto class. This perhaps has contributed to the oversight of African Americans in the West; their community was simply less recognizable than in other regions; Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: Norton, 1998), 30-33, 36. For an additional comparison of the racial hierarchies of different colonizers, see Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 96-97, 104; Adelman and Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders," 830. Adelman and Aron have been criticized for being too Turnerian in their

The economic system was greatly changed by the transition of control and the influx of Anglo Americans. The growth of capitalist markets in the Northeast produced minstrel songs that highlighted the dichotomy between Anglo and African Americans. Capitalist markets in the West did not produce minstrel shows with Mexican American subjects but they did severely disrupt the labor and economics of Mexican Americans workers. Before American control, California's economy was based on ranching and subsistence farming. When the Gold Rush fueled a diversified market economy, it replaced the traditional ranch economy and the occupations and skills of many Mexican American workers became obsolete. With access to skilled labor jobs limited by Anglo Americans, Mexican Americans were often forced to take semiskilled or unskilled labor positions. The concentration of Mexican Americans in low status positions only reinforced stereotypes of Mexican Americans as unskilled laborers.[144]

Mexican Americans used music to express their stories, ones which differed from those of Anglo Americans. Folk songs like the "Corrido de Kiansis" directly challenged the prevailing belief about Mexican American workers. Originating in the 1860s, the

analysis. For more on this critique, see Wunder and Hämäläinen, "Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays." For a historiographical context for their work, see Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 98 (2011): 341, 344-45. For a response to the criticism they received, see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives," *The American Historical Review* 104 (1999).

[144] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 24; For more on Mexican stereotypes, see David J. Weber, "Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989). The origin of the lazy Mexican stereotype was commonly believed to have developed along the frontier of Texas after Mexico achieved independence. Weber, however, convincingly argues that the stereotype existed prior and grew from the Black Legend, anti Spanish Catholicism of the English, and a distrust of racial mixing. Thus the nineteenth century American stereotypes of Mexicans were extensions of the prejudices of Europeans; For more on the Mexican American perspective of the Gold Rush, see Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 28.

song, in narrative form, depicts the Anglo cowboys as inferior to the original Mexican cowboys.[145]

> *Five hundred steers there were, all big and quick;*
> *Thirty American boys could not keep them bunched together.*
> *Then five Mexicans arrive, all of them wearing good chaps;*
> *And in less than a quarter-hour, they had the steers penned up.*
> *Those five Mexicans penned up the steers in a moment,*
> *And the thirty Americans were left staring in amazement.*[146]

The song countered the narrative Anglo Americans were creating about Mexicans. Mexicans in the song were talented and capable men, more skilled at their jobs than their counterparts.

The music also contained harsher forms of resistance. Americans of Mexican ancestry fondly remembered the life of Juan Nepomuceno Cortina (1824-1892), a Mexican who lived north of the Rio Grande. In 1859, Cortina shot and killed a Marshal in Brownsville, Texas for beating a Mexican man. The incident led Cortina to become a vigilante, gathering ranchers to himself and taking control of Brownsville and punishing those who abused Mexicans. Many Mexican Americans sang songs in his honor. Only fragments of these *corridos* survive but all celebrate his actions.[147]

> *The famed General Cortina*
> *Is quite sovereign and free,*
> *The honor due him is greater*
> *For he saved a Mexican's life.*[148]

---

[145] Américo Paredes, *A Texas-Mexican Cancionero: Folksongs of the Lower Border* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 25.
[146] Ibid., 55.
[147] Ibid., 22-23.
[148] Ibid., 48.

Such sentiment was in direct opposition to how Anglo Americans saw him. Instead of a murderer and outlaw, he was a hero for saving someone's life. That he killed an American Marshal in the process was inconsequential.

The life of Joaquin Murrieta inspired similar songs. The real events of Joaquin Murrieta's life are contested. Several versions of his story exist, differing both in fact and interpretation. What is known is that Murrieta and his family were from the Mexican State of Sonora and came north to dig in the mines of the Sierra Nevadas after gold was discovered in 1848.[149] The Murrietas never found gold, but Joaquin found fame as an outlaw.

From the Anglo American perspective, the traditional story depicted Murrieta as a murderous bandit. California newspapers labeled him "the notorious outlaw, Joaquin." He and his band robbed and murdered Anglo and Chinese miners. The attacks were "random and unprovoked."[150] He was likely not responsible for all the attacks attributed to him. As one contemporary wrote, "Unless the said Joaquin be endowed with supernatural qualities he could not have been seen at the same time in several places widely separated from each other." In the confusion and hysteria of the attacks, rumors of five different Joaquins spread throughout central California. Ultimately, according to the Anglo American legend, Murrieta was killed by Harry Love and his California Rangers. Love cut off Murrieta's head and preserved it in a jar of alcohol that was displayed in Stockton to the Anglo public.[151]

---

[149] Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 29-30.
[150] Ibid., 34.
[151] Ibid., 38-39.

Mexican Americans told another story, one where Murrieta's attacks were not unprovoked. They claimed that Anglo Americans attacked him; he was beaten, his brother was hanged, and his wife raped. Murrieta then became an outlaw because he was seeking revenge for the injustices he and his family suffered at the hands of Anglo Americans. At the time, individuals of Mexican descent were continuously harassed in the mines, mining districts sometimes barred Mexicans from mining at certain sites, and in 1850 California's State government approved a tax of twenty dollars a month, on all non Anglo American miners. Furthermore, the alleged crimes inflicted upon the Murrieta family were not merely institutional, but personal.[152]

Whatever the truth, Mexican Americans used music to romanticize Murrieta's life. Written from Murrieta's perspective, "Corrido de Joaquin Murrieta" expressed Mexican American frustrations. The lyrics condemned Anglo Americans, saying:

> *No one cared for me,*
> *They killed my brother*
> *And the cowards murdered*
> *My wife Carmelita.*

To enact justice for his slaughtered loved ones, Murrieta set out to murder any Anglo American he could.

> *This is why I set out on the path*
> *To kill Americans*
> *Now my destiny is no other.*
> *Beware, countrymen!*[153]

[152] Ibid., 31-32. This tax, however, was quickly repealed and replaced by a smaller tax.
[153] Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009) 216-19.

The song allowed Mexican Americans to vent frustration with Anglo American control of California and the Southwest. To justify their expansion, Anglo Americans claimed they were bringing civilization to a backwards and uncultured people. But the Anglo Americans in "Corrido de Joaquin Murrieta" did not bring peace and stability. They brought brutality, bloodshed, and chaos. Through music Mexican Americans envisioned revenge for the wrongs inflicted upon them. Singing of an outlaw who murdered Anglo Americans was cathartic for Mexican Americans who endured violence and the loss of land as the United States spread west.

Anglo American authorities banned the song, as one might expect. In Arizona mining towns, performers who sang it were arrested. Later, it was banned from radio play. Nevertheless, its popularity grew; it swept through the Southwest, a favorite on both sides of the border.[154]

Those of Mexican ancestry in the Southwest witnessed a rapid transformation of the region in the fifty years after annexation; they suffered loss of land, wealth, and political rights and were reduced to a minority in what was once their own country. Facing these dramatic changes, Mexican Americans were forced to reconcile their racial and national identities. The song "El Corrido del Norte" provides insight into how the community dealt with those complications.

I was born on the border
Though here on this side
Though here on this side
I'm a pure Mexican
Even though people
May think I'm Texan
I now assure you

[154] Ibid.

That I'm all Mexican
From here on this side.[155]

Popular at the turn of the twentieth century, the song gave voice to the complications of Mexican American identity. The singer retained his heritage as "pure Mexican" while also insisting on his right to the land. He was born "here on this side." Through song we see that even though the singer could pass as American he did not want to. The singer embraced his heritage and did not surrender his racial pride.

Chinese Performers and Cantonese Songs

Chinese immigrants in the West brought with them the cultural practices and institutions of their homeland. Chinese immigrants founded music and theater venues in the settlements of the far west and many immigrants participated in amateur performances in their community's festivals and celebrations. Other establishments likewise preserved Chinese culture in a new nation. Chinese businessmen sponsored traveling musicians and funded theaters, gambling halls, restaurants, and brothels. These establishments and the musical performances allowed Chinese immigrants to connect with and preserve their heritage and culture.[156]

Even when Chinese establishments were not explicitly places for performance, music was commonplace. The restaurants of San Francisco's Chinatown were popular gathering places for musicians. As patrons ate, they enjoyed the performance of Chinese musicians and singers. Though far fewer than men, Chinese women found jobs singing in

[155] Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 67.
[156] Moon, *Yellowface*, 57.

restaurants. Anglo American L. Vernon Briggs wrote in 1881 that several Chinese women he encountered in San Francisco had previously worked as prostitutes but now made their living singing.[157]

Chinese immigrants who converted to Christianity adapted music from the European tradition to meet the needs of fellow converts. This took the form of translating Christian hymns into Cantonese, thereby Chinese preserved their own language and culture. Otis Gibson, an Episcopalian minister and missionary, visited a Chinese church in San Francisco. Although he did not understand the Cantonese language, he recognized the melodies of the hymns "Nettleton" and "Jesus Loves Me."[158]

As Chinese immigrants embraced European religious music, they directly confronted Anglo Americans' presumptions that the Chinese were inferior musicians. In 1878, a writer for the San Francisco *Alta California* expressed his surprise after attending the performance of a Chinese musician who played the flute and sang with an organ accompaniment—neither instruments were from China. The reporter expected that the audience was only familiar with "nasal twangs" of Chinese singing. However, he remarked, the singer "demonstrated clearly the fact that with proper training, the race possesses voices of melody and power."[159] The performance and the reporter's reaction demonstrate how the Chinese used music to rebuff the racial expectations of Anglo Americans.

---

[157] Ibid., 67.
[158] Ibid., 69.
[159] Ibid; "The Chinese School Festival," *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1878, 1.

Cantonese songs that arose from San Francisco's Chinatown contain a wealth of insight into the minds and hearts of immigrants. Songs were a place for Chinese to express the difficulties and weigh the tensions of life in a foreign land.[160] Common were songs about their homes; about the parents, wives, and children the workers had left behind. As one singer lamented, "I have forsaken wife and children to seek my fortune/ Heart bleeds in pain."[161] He complained that the journey had taken too long, "Had I known, I wouldn't have come." Countering these sentiments, some Chinese songs affirmed the sacrifice of family relations in pursuit of gold. "A son, or money—which is more precious? On top, of course is money."[162]

When faced with the hardships and disappointment in America, many Chinese immigrants regretted their decision to emigrate. Others redoubled their resolve by committing to acquiring wealth. The songs they produced allow us to see the difficulties they faced in the West. Some may have preferred family, others fortune; either way the songs reveal the painful choices the immigrants were forced to make. Even when songs did not directly counter Anglo Americans, they did offer a critique of the nation and the opportunity that could be found there.

Chinese immigrants had always faced ad hoc persecution and hostility from Anglo Americans in California but after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, new arrivals

---

[160] Sudhanshu Bhandari, "Discrimination and Perseverance amongst the Chinese in California in the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries," *China Report* 47 (2011): 9. Bhandari takes the rather puzzling position that Chinese workers were silent in the face of oppression and that this proved their resilience. Bhandari overlooks the Cantonese songs of the Chinese in San Francisco and, in attempting to show the people's strength, silenced them.
[161] Marlon K. Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain: Cantonese Rhymes from San Francisco Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 157.
[162] Ibid., 180.

from China faced increased systematic and institutional oppression.[163] As one song went, "I am jailed unjustly across the bay/Enduring the unendurable tyranny of immigration officials." The song went on to compare the guards and officials to wolves.[164]

Of particular irony is that, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Statue of Liberty was inscribed with a poem welcoming foreign immigrants.

> *Give me your tired, your poor,*
> *Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,*
> *The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.*
> *Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.*

Simultaneously on the opposite coast, however, Chinese immigrants were telling a different story about the nation in song and verse. One song claimed:

> *American laws, more ferocious than tigers,*
> *Many are the people jailed inside wooden halls,*
> *Detained, interrogated, tortured.*[165]

Other songs echoed a similar sentiment.

> *So, liberty is your national principle;*
> *Why do you practice autocracy?*
> *You don't uphold justice, you Americans.*[166]

Chinese and Anglo Americans used music to express the same anxieties about the sexual purity of women. Numerous Chinese songs were concerned with the cultural influence of the West on Chinese women and the erosion of Chinese values. As one claimed:

> *A Chinese woman follows Western ways,*
> *Accepting none of her husband's remonstrations,*

---

[163] For more on the Chinese Exclusion Acts, particularly in a borderlands context, see Grace Peña Delgado, "Neighbors by Nature."
[164] Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain*, 83
[165] Ibid., 84.
[166] Ibid., 85.

O, how can there be conjugal harmony?

Such a woman showed no respect for the classics of Chinese literature or followed their instruction. She dressed in fancy clothes and "would trade her flesh to make a living."[167] Another song claimed that among the women who were influenced by the West "morality is despised." Ultimately, the singer concluded that "we may as well forget about eating the roasted pig." A roasted pig was the symbol of a bride's virginity in the Cantonese wedding tradition.[168]

At the same time, Anglo Americans expressed in verse their fears that Chinese workers were taking away jobs and that this would leave Anglo American women with no other option but prostitution.[169] Thus both Anglo Americans and Chinese blamed the other for sexual promiscuity and exploitation. Anglo Americans emphasized economics and the loss of jobs while Chinese viewed American culture as inherently depraved, corrupting the Chinese women who embraced it.

Similar to their African American counterparts, Chinese performers sometimes embraced racial tropes to gain popularity. Lee Tung Foo was likely the first Chinese American to perform vaudeville. One of his most popular routines was an impression of a Scotsman. Foo's popularity in general and this performance in particular illustrate that Asian American performers too could exploit race to pursue their individual success and fame. Foo's work was a precursor to Chinese performers in the twentieth century who

[167] Ibid., 218.
[168] Ibid., 216.
[169] See pages 15-16/.

embraced race as a subject on stage by playing characters of other races or exaggerated versions of themselves.[170]

Pan-Indian Movement and the Ghost Dance

As the original inhabitants of the West, Native Americans had long clashed with European settlers. The history of the conflict, alliances, war, and broken treaties is long and complicated.[171] Yet even as Natives were displaced from their land, they exercised forms of resistance.[172] Especially in the early days of the Indian Boarding School movement, Native children were often rounded up and taken without explanation. As a boy Luther Standing Bear was loaded onto a train with other Native children. The older boys, he later recalled, began to sing the death songs of the Sioux Warrior, songs traditionally sung before entering battle and used to inspire bravery in the hearts of warriors. In the midst of captivity and facing institutional oppression, the children encouraged themselves and celebrated their culture by singing their songs, drawing courage from the memory and melodies of the warriors who came before.[173]

Boarding schools intended to eradicate Native American culture and indoctrinate children with "civilized" values, but the actual results were mixed. Through the sharing

[170] Moon, *Yellowface*, 1, 100. For more on Chinese American performers and their use of race on stage, see SanSan Kwan, "Performing a Geography of Asian America: The Chop Suey Circuit," *The MIT Press* 55 (2011).
[171] See Grace M. Schwartzman and Susan K. Barnard, "A Trail of Broken Promises: Georgians and Muscogee/Creek Treaties, 1796-1826," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (1991).
[172] Scholars have debated the most appropriate way to tell the stories of Native Americans. I embrace R. David Edmunds' "inclusionist" perspective that Native history be brought into the history of all people in North America. See David R. Edmunds, "Blazing New Trails or Burning Bridges: Native American History Comes of Age," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 39 (2008): 12-13.
[173] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 25.

of music from diverse Native cultures and tribes, individuals forged bonds that would otherwise not have developed. New connections and alliances aided the development of the modern Pan-Indian movement and countered the school's goals of indoctrination and assimilation.[174] All sides used music in the same battleground to accomplish opposite ends.[175]

In personal encounters, too, Native Americans exerted agency though song. Mary Eastman and her husband Seth lived alongside the Sioux at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, from 1841-1848 while Seth served as the fort's commanding officer.[176] Eastman praised the fort and scenery but to her "the greatest objects of interest and curiosity were the original owners of the country."[177] She was not entirely removed from the sentiments of her day. Like others, she believed the spread of Christianity would civilize the world and that the Sioux were on the brink of extinction.[178] She did hold the Sioux in high esteem. Their men were handsome, their warriors admirable, and their minds were "of a high order." Their skills in reasoning could "put to the blush the powers of many an educated logician." She regretted that these men were called savages. "How few care for the suffering of the Dahcotahs!" she lamented in the opening pages of her book.[179]

---

[174] Ibid., 32.
[175] The instances of music at boarding schools will be further considered in chapter three for they incited a third and final effect—cooperation among the races.
[176] Mary Eastman, *Dahcotah; or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling* (New York: J. Wiley, 1849), i; "Mary Henderson Eastman," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed May 23, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/biography/Mary-Henderson-Eastman
[177] Eastman, *Dahcotah*, iii.
[178] Ibid., iv, i; For more on evangelicalism and Native Americans, see Prucha, "Scientific Racism and Indian Policy."
[179] Eastman, *Dahcotah*, iv. Admiration for one race, however, does not necessarily mean an individual respected all races. Eastman supported the enslavement of African Americans and wrote a book in response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In a similar pattern but with the races reversed, Abraham Lincoln opposed slavery and his racial beliefs grew increasingly egalitarian throughout his life. Yet, as President when he met with a

While living at the fort, Eastman recorded her interactions with Natives and became friendly with many of them. Intent on learning the songs of their celebrations and dances, she took singing lessons from Chief Little Hill. However, she was unable to learn the art well enough and Little Hill quickly abandoned the lessons. The "low, guttural notes," she explained, were too difficult for her, and he grew frustrated that "he could never make [her] sing like a Sioux." When she tried to share with him her music, "he very quickly became tired of [her] piano and singing."[180]

Little Hill's frustration that Eastman could not assimilate is strikingly familiar; it paralleled the sentiment Anglo Americans often expressed about other races. Native Americans, too, disregarded other cultures, seeing them as inferior to their own. Feelings of racial and cultural supremacy were not sentiments found exclusively in the dominant group.[181]

The Native American Ghost Dance movements appeared in various places across the West. The unifying feature of the Ghost Dance ceremony was that it foresaw an era where Anglo Americans would disappear, Native Americans would again control the land, their traditional practices would be restored, and the buffalo and deceased Native ancestors would return.[182] The dance had a religious and millennial meaning. As one contemporary summarized, "The great underlying principle of the Ghost Dance doctrine

---

group of Natives, he was dismissive and disrespectful of them and their intellect. See Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 261-63.

[180] Eastman, *Dahcotah*, xii.

[181] Native Americans and Anglo Americans not only perceived music differently from their own cultural perspectives, they also perceived inanimate noises in dissimilar ways as well. For more, see Rath, "Hearing American History," 426-27.

[182] Judith Vander, *Shoshone Ghost Dance Religion: Poetry Songs and Great Basin Context* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 8.

is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness."[183] This new era would be ushered in through ceremony and dance—and where there is dance, there is song.

The Ghost Dance movement originated in 1870. It evolved out of the traditional Round Dance and included traditional practices of shamanism, ceremony, painting, and bathing. The Ghost Dance went beyond the Round Dance by prophesying that the dead would return to life to share in a new world.[184] The first Ghost Dance of the 1870s was short-lived but prepared the way for the second Ghost Dance movement of 1890. This was led by Wovoka, a member of the Lakota in Nevada.

Many scholars view the Ghost Dance as a response to the destruction of Native ways of life. The Lakota, for instance, were at war with the Federal Government on and off throughout the second half of the nineteenth century while simultaneously dealing with Mormon settlers and power dynamics within the Sioux tribes.[185] Consistent conflict and disrupted traditional practices become fertile grounds for resentment. In addition, the pressures of a severe drought in 1890 left many Natives discouraged and longing for a return to their traditional ways.[186]

---

[183] Ibid., 9.

[184] Ibid., 7; see also Raymond DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," *Pacific Historical Review* 51 (1982). DeMallie argues that the movement drew from deeper Lakota practices, presumptions, and worldview.

[185] For further detail on the near continuous conflict with the United States Government, see Rani-Henrik Andersson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 5-17.

[186] Disruptions to Native American ways of life did not originate in their conflicts with the United States. Mexican independence from Spain disrupted relations between Mexicans and Native Americans in what is now the Southwest. The restrictions on immigration and trade in the region, which were enforced by the Spanish, were released under Mexico's independent rule. Mexicans moved into land that traditionally belonged to the Native tribes while Mexican and Anglo American fur traders depleted the region's natural resources. See Ned Blackhaw, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 119-120. For a critique of this perspective, see DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance," 385-89.

Ghost Dancing spread across the West in 1890. At the movement's height under the leadership of Wovoka, more than thirty tribes practiced the ceremony from California to Texas and Canada.[187] Spread over such a large area, Natives practiced the Ghost Dance ceremony according to each tribe's culture.[188] Despite its many variations, the structure of the ritual was relatively similar. Ceremonies began with the purification of the land and a blessing by a medicine man. Participants were purified in sweat lodges, then dancer's bodies were painted with symbols. They then danced in a circle while a singer stood in the center and sang an opening song.[189]

The songs, as with the Ghost Dance itself, were based on traditional patterns that were also distinctly tied to the situation Native Americans faced in the West. Present within the songs were feelings of frustration and at times even desperation. As one Ghost Dance song went:

> *Father, have pity on me,*
> *Father, have pity on me,*
> *I am crying for thirst,*
> *I am crying for thirst,*
> *All is gone—I have nothing to eat,*
> *All is gone—I have nothing to eat.*[190]

Also present were songs of hope. As the dancers danced, singers sang songs of reunion with their deceased relatives.

> *There is a father coming,*

---

[187] Andersson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890*, 28; Even in its 1870s incarnation, the Ghost Dance reached Oregon's Willamette Valley. The Warm House Dance, as it came to be called there, was practiced through the 1870s as the Siletz tribe constructed six new buildings for housing the Warm House Dance. By decade's end the dance had widely fallen out of practice but in smaller numbers it was danced by Natives into the 1930s. For more, see Charles F. Wilkinson, *The People Are Dancing Again: The History of the Siletz Tribe of Western Oregon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 198-200.
[188] Vander, *Shoshone Ghost Dance Religion*, 10.
[189] Andersson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890*, 54-56.
[190] Ibid., 44.

There is a father coming,
The father says this as he comes,
The father says this as he comes,
"You shall live," he says as he comes,
"You shall live," he says as he comes.

Other songs contained lyrics such as "The buffalo are coming," and "Mother, come home."[191] Native Americans looked forward to the day when Anglos would disappear and the land would again belong to them, the buffalo would return, and they would be reunited with their ancestors. In essence, the songs and ceremonies awaited a time when all the destruction brought about by Anglo Americans would be undone.

Conclusion

Racial minorities were not passive victims of Anglo expansion; they exercised their own agency and sang songs which countered the Anglo melody. The forms of resistance were often sung on a smaller stage; they were less institutional and more personal. While the United States government sought to eradicate Native cultures through the brutality of the boarding schools, Native Americans used song to forge new communities and identities. When Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese immigrants responded in song, scoffing the false claims of American liberty. As the border shifted over Mexicans in the Southwest and Anglo Americans flooded the region conquest-bent, individuals of Mexican ancestry lived out vicarious revenge in their music. As they sang their *corridos*, they retold the story of American expansion with Anglos cast as the story's villains. African Americans sometimes embraced Anglo

[191] Ibid., 59-60.

American musical forms but recreated them to their own ends, whether in spirituals and hymns or in ragtime. Even while Anglos remained oblivious to their true meaning, African American music was a subversive attack on Anglo dominance.

However it might have been expressed, music remained a channel for minority peoples' dissidence. The westward expansion of the United States was not a melody, simple and clear. When minorities challenged their oppressors, the West became a cacophony of sound. Yet even this was not the only noise. In the midst of the discord, chaotic as it was, a harmony can be heard.

Interlude Two: Genres

It was perhaps inevitable that amid the convergence of musical traditions, new styles and genres were born. The blues, gospel, and country music genres originated at the intersections of cross-cultural musical exchange.

Blues is the most prominent example of the blending of European and African musical traditions.[192] Blues chord progressions are centered around the tonic, sub-dominant, and dominant chords in the scale; the first, fourth, and fifth chords, respectively. This feature is inherited from western Europe. Blended with those chords are several features that trace back to African origins. The flattening of the third, seventh, and sometimes fifth notes in the scale gave blues instrumental music its distinct feel. The sound of distorted guitars so common in the blues has roots in the buzzing notes produced by African string instruments. Likewise, call and response singing and the use of hand clapping are all traits brought to blues music from African musical traditions.[193]

African American Christians borrowed elements of European musical styles but did so without abandoning their African musical heritage, and out of the two traditions created gospel music. In African American churches hymns were often sung but they incorporated features outside of western European musical norms. For example, Richard Allen, an African American minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, published a

---

[192] Africa of course does not contain one singular musical style and therefore the inheritance of African traditions is complicated. Certain influences can nevertheless be discerned.

[193] Dick Weissman, *Blues: The Basics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 9-10; The history of the flatted third, seventh and especially fifth notes has a surprisingly large body of scholarship. The statements above are not without dissenting voices but still represent the dominant perspective of the field as best as I can discern. For further discussion, see Gerhard Kubik, *Africa and the Blues* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), especially chapters nine and ten. For African precursors to distorted guitars, see Rath, "Hearing American History," 431.

hymnal in 1801. The Episcopal Church already had an official hymnal and most of the minister's songs were by well-known European composers such as Charles Wesley and Isaac Watts. Allen published his as an alternative. His hymnal broke from European traditions by incorporating wandering refrains into the songs such as an additional chorus, often one from another song, attached to the end of a hymn. This allowed the performers to improvise and gave the service an informal atmosphere. Anglo Americans did not always enjoy such changes, seeing the music as a "corruption of European melodies." But that did not stop African Americans from rearranging European religious music to their own preferences.[194]

There is another layer to be explored here. While genres were created out of a fusion of cultural ideas, the music could at the same time construct and preserve a culture's memory of the past. A genre could create its own origin story and ignore its own multicultural roots.

The genre of country music depicts this well. Country music was born in Appalachia among rural whites. The music grew out of the tradition of English folk songs, but not exclusively. The staple instruments were a guitar, banjo, and fiddle.[195] The banjo was born among African slaves out of several musical traditions of west Africa. Scholars have recently begun to recognize the influence of German folk songs on the music of southern Appalachia. The song structures of early country music often had a two-part arrangement, with each part in a different key. This practice too drew from the

[194] Djedje, "African American Music to 1900," 120-1, 127; Melva Wilson Costen, *In Spirit and in Truth: The Music of African American Worship* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 54.
[195] Barkley, *Crossroads*, 169-171.

German musical tradition. Even certain melodic phrases can be traced back to songs of German origin.[196] In the twentieth century, the Hawaiian steel guitar was incorporated into the genre's sound, further broadening country music's multicultural heritage.

The lyrics were often simple, reflecting rural and conservative values. During the 1930s, country music was re-imagined when musicians began to include lyrics that romanticized cowboys and the old west.[197] This innovation resulted from the social anxieties of the Great Depression. In an era of economic collapse and social uncertainty, people found comfort in regionalism and nostalgia for a simple and romanticized past.[198] It was in this era that the figure of the cowboy, already a neat misrepresentation of the actual nineteenth century cowboys, became singing cowboys. The 1930s songs about the old west were also not real cowboy songs, but rather innovations that re-imagined the past as clean, conflict free, and moral.[199] The modern oversimplified, male, and Anglo-centric version of the Old West that is prominent today was already constructed by the

---

[196] Armin Hadamer, "American Fiddle Tunes and Their German Connection," *Lied Und Populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* 55 (2010): 12-13.

[197] Barkley, *Crossroads*, 171-74.

[198] Michael C. Steiner, "Regionalism in the Great Depression," *Geographical Review* 73 (1983), 433; Webb, *The Great Plains*, 495. Webb, although he believed in western exceptionalism, likewise argued that the West was romanticized by those outside it. For a countering view of regionalism, see Richard Maxwell Brown, "Rainfall and History: Perspectives on the Pacific Northwest," in *Experiences in a Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History*, ed. G. Thomas Edwards and Carlos Schwantes (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986). Brown argues that climate is the source of regionalism, specifically that rainfall shaped regionalism in the Pacific Northwest. However, Steiner's analysis is more convincing because it not only addresses the process through which regional identities are formed but also takes into account the motivations that foster those identities. For recent opposition to regionalism see Robert D. Johnston "There's No 'There' There: Reflections on Western Political Historiography*," The Western Historical Quarterly* 42 (2011): 332-33. Johnston argues that regionalism is an unhelpful category for historians because it lends to oversimplifications. However, Johnston gives no attention to the individuals who claim an identity based on regionalism.

[199] Travis D. Stimeling, "The Sons of the Pioneers' Lucky 'U' Ranch and the Singing Cowboy in Cold War America," *American Music* 28 (2010): 77. For more on the persistence of singing cowboys and the representation of the past which they present, see Louise Pubols, "The Singing Cowboy and the Professor: The New West at the Autry National Center," *The Public Historian* 31 (2009).

late nineteenth century, but it has been preserved in popular culture in part by the country songs of the depression era.

Music has the ability to create cultural memories, to foster cultural myths. But even as cowboys sang of a reconstructed and tidy past they did so with instruments and within genres that were multicultural. The origin of rock and roll is the blues; both of these genres are African American art forms that drew from European and African musical customs and have since found acceptance within the broader culture. American music history is therefore the story of interchange and invention at the meeting places of various races and their traditions.

Chapter Three: Harmony—Music Bridges the Divide

Introduction

Musical interactions were not always wrought with strife and infused with differences of power. There were times when music in the West was simply a pastime and a comfort, something that brought people together. There were minority performers whose talent earned them the respect of audiences of all races and dispelled beliefs in their supposed musical inferiority.

The power of music to bond people together runs deep in the nature of humankind. Music has played an important role in human evolution by stimulating social bonding. Communication is the primary function of speech; the sharing of information, thoughts, and feelings. For the purposes of speech to be accomplished, the act is individualistic; one person speaks while the other listens. Group communication is really individuals speaking in turn. Music is different; it invites participation. The use of rhythm and harmony allows multiple singers to express themselves at once without hindering each other. Music is communal.[200]

---

[200] Isabelle Peretz, "Listen to the Brain: A Biological Perspective on Music and Emotions," in *Music and Emotion: Theory and Research*, ed. Patrik. N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 115. An example of this bonding can be seen among Irish musicians in the nineteenth century. In Ireland, professional musicians were on the lower end of the social hierarchy. Land was the marker of status and the musician was itinerant; their rank more or less the same as a lower class tradesman in a rural population. In the 1840s and 1850s immigrants poured into the nation as Ireland faced the great potato famine which left many of its peasants with few options but to emigrate and start anew. In the urban centers of the East coast, rapidly growing Irish communities were established. Much of Gaelic culture was shattered by the transition. The urban centers of America were not conducive to the culture of the Irish countryside. Irish music and dance, however, survived. Within the Irish community in America, musicians, especially fiddlers, became well respected as the preservers of traditional Irish culture. Musicians were able to solidify culture and bond a people together. See Lawrence McCullough, "An Historical Sketch of Traditional Irish Music in the U.S.," *Folklore Forum* 7 (1974): 179-80; Broyles, "Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century," 138.

In the midcentury, weary travelers in the West found rest in song at the end of the day. Many remarked that the trail was lonely when musicians were not present in the wagon train. On his way crossing the overland trail, Ralph Cushing used his harmonica to cheer the whole company. He was a favorite among the wagon train, and he used his instrument to woo and marry a fellow traveling girl.[201] Earlier, the Lewis and Clark expedition used music to find respite from their journey. Pierre Cruzatte was the group's chief musician. Cruzatte was of half French and half Omaha Indian decent. Although other members of the expedition were musicians, Cruzatte's talent as a fiddler made him the party's main performer.

Any study of music that does not give space to its ability to heal is therefore incomplete. This chapter does not seek to water-down the brutal reality of racism in the West. But if all the complexities of race relations are to be understood, then racial harmony must be given its due consideration. There are, as one might expect, fewer cases of harmonious interracial musical relationships than those that express imbalances of power. This, however, only proves the point. Harmonious interactions were present but not dominant. The occasions of harmony tended to be less institutional and more personal. Any single account of harmony, of course, proves little. But the accumulation of individual experiences reveals that, despite the structures of racial inequality, persons of different races could and did find commonality in the music.

---

[201] Anderson, "Music on the Move," 28; Catherine Haun, "A Woman's Trip Across the Plains in 1849," in *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*, ed Lillian Schlissel (New York: Schocken Books, 1992), 179-80. For more on music on the overland trail, see Carson, "Music: A Softer Pleasure along the Oregon-California Trail."

Finally, this chapter gives special emphasis to the paradoxes of racial harmony. Melody, dissonance, and harmony were not always independent forces; they flowed into one another in the same songs, the same occasions, the same individuals. Racial relationships were never simple.

Native and Anglo Music on the Overland Trail

Outside of Fort Laramie in 1846, Joseph Aram and the pioneers he was leading to California encountered a large group of Sioux. Fort Laramie's captain recommended the travelers offer a gift to the Natives as a sign of friendship. Aram and his company thus prepared a meal of biscuits and coffee, enough for two hundred Native Americans. The women in the group spread tablecloths across the grass and presented the food to their guests.

The Sioux accepted the food and drink, and that evening, to express their gratitude, the young Sioux men and women returned to the fort in the "gayest attire and gave a splendid dance." Aram appreciated the gesture of thanks, but more telling, he respected the performance. "With their music and singing, there was some degree of refinement in it all, which was more than we expected to find amongst Indians."[202]

Aram's account gives no indication that he and his companions expected a performance in return for the meal. The motivation was only to "secure their friendship." When he arrived at Fort Laramie he came with preconceived ideas about Native

[202] J. Aram, *Across the Continent in a Caravan: Recollections of a Journey from New York through the Western Wilderness and Over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific in 1846*, ed. James Tompkins Watson (New Haven: Associated Publishers of American Records, 1907), 623.

Americans and their musical ability. That evening's performance, however, countered his expectations. The encounter also reveals something about the group of Sioux. They were not content to receive a gift without offering one in return—music was that gift. The Natives were confident in their musical ability, and the Anglo Americans were humble enough to acknowledge their skill. In his journal, Aram recognized that his racial expectations were wrong.[203]

Native performances for Anglo American pioneers were not unusual. In the spring of 1864, a wagon train on its way to Montana stopped along the Platte River in Nebraska near a Pawnee encampment. While the wagon train was eating supper, Native Americans entered the camp offering songs and dances in exchange for five cents or some biscuits. Joseph Warren Arnold, a member of the wagon train, wrote that night that the performances were an "amusing sight" for the weary travelers.[204]

The experiences of Loren B. Hastings provide another example. On his way from Illinois to Oregon in 1847, Hastings, his wife Lucinda, and their fellow travelers stopped at Fort Bridger in Wyoming. Hastings noted that many of the men at the fort had taken Native American wives. That night, the company danced to a fiddler's music until two in the morning. Hastings himself danced with several Native American women, showing them American dances. "There was some wild romance in this," Hastings remarked in his journal, hinting at his attraction to the women.[205]

---

[203] Ibid.
[204] Charles W. Martin, ed., "Joseph Warren Arnold's Journal of His Trip to and from Montana, 1864-1866," *Nebraska History* 55 (1974), 472.
[205] Oregon Pioneer Association, *Transactions of the Forty-Sixth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association: Portland, June 20, 1918: Containing the Proceedings of the Thrity-Second Grand Encampment of Indian War Veterans of the North Pacific Coast and Other Matters of Historic Interest* (Portland: Chausse-Prudhomme Co., 1921), 12, 18.

Music had the power to foster peaceful and friendly interactions, but of course it did not erase power imbalances. Upon arriving in Portland, Hastings helped recruit volunteers to fight against Native Americans in the Cayuse War, an armed conflict between Natives and Anglo American settlers caused by rapid immigration of settlers and the spread of disease among the Cayuse tribe.[206] Harmony between Anglos and Natives was often tenuous.

Native Americans, too, sometimes welcomed performances from travelers on the overland trails. When Lewis and Clark camped in North Dakota for the winter of 1804-05, music and dance was one of the few activities available to pass the time. During their stay, they established peaceful relations with the Native Mandan tribe. To usher in the first day of the new year, Lewis and Clark's men fired rounds into the air. To continue the celebration the Mandan invited the explorers to their village, presented them with food, and furnished them with buffalo robes. The explorers brought with them tambourines, fiddles, jew harps, and a bugle. When they began to play, the Mandans and expedition members danced together.[207]

In May of 1854, eighteen-year-old Mary Burrell encountered a group of Native Americans near Fort Laramie when two men and five women walked into her camp in the afternoon. She performed for them on her Melodeon, a small portable organ. They enjoyed the music and began to dance, even attempting to get Mary's brother Hannibal to join them.[208]

---

[206] Ibid., 12
[207] Dary, *Seeking Pleasure*, 6-7.
[208] Mary Burrell, "Council Bluffs to California," in *Best of Covered Wagon Women, Volume II: Emigrant Girls on the Overland Trails*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 186.

Among western pioneers, William Johnston was unusual because he realized that the West was a junction of cultures. Prior to departing on the overland trail to California, he packed a bag of toy instruments, such as small horns, harmonicas, and jew harps, to trade with the Native Americans he expected to meet. When his group halted to ford the South Platte river, a group of Natives approached and he seized the opportunity. He unpacked the instruments, demonstrated them, and passed them out. The Native Americans were delighted at the sounds. "Their enthusiasm was unbound" and they "danced about with glee." After procuring their friendship, Johnston was able to trade goods with them without hostility.[209] It is an overstatement to say that sharing music erased all prejudice, yet music played a crucial role in bringing the groups together.

Among another wagon train, two travelers courted and married during the journey west. The party celebrated the overland wedding with song and dance, the sound of which carried over the plains to Native ears. The following morning six Native American tribe leaders arrived, but it quickly became apparent that the men had misinterpreted the sounds. The Natives had come to show their respect to the Anglo Americans on what they thought was a great war dance.[210] To both groups, the other's music was strange, capable of producing fear or feelings of superiority, sometimes simultaneously. It could lead to miscommunication. In the case of the wedding, however, it is important to note that although the Natives misunderstood the sound, they came with congratulations and not with conflict.[211]

---

[209] WM. G. Johnston, *Overland to California* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1948), 64-66.
[210] G. W. Thissell, *Crossing the Plains in '49* (Oakland: 1903), 109-10.
[211] Keyes, "Like a Roaring Lion," 20-21.

The British-born William H. Woodhams spent nearly two years constantly traveling from the East Coast to the West; first by ship around Cape Horn, then returning East through Nicaragua, before venturing west again by the overland trail. In the summer of 1854, as he made his trip across the plains and deserts, he often reflected in his diary about the hardships of the trek. When Woodhams and the wagon train crossed the Sierra Nevadas they camped along the Truckee River. "Never did anything look so beautiful to our dust begrimed weary eyes," Woodhams said of the cool, clean water. He bathed, drank, and rested under the shade of a cottonwood tree. That evening a group of Paiute visited the camp to trade goods. To continue in his relaxation, Woodhams took out his accordion and began to play. To his surprise he was quickly surrounded by listeners, Natives and Anglos alike. Woodhams was amused by the disgruntled look of both races. The Paiute were half naked, the pioneers bearded, ragged, and dirty "as only a tramp over the desert can make them." And both races sat together, enjoying the music.

After the performance, the Paiute asked to stay the night in the camp, a request born out of their cultural expectations of hospitality. Tribes that aligned with each other would join together for hunts and migrations. The practice was used between tribes and fur traders. For tribes long in contact with traders, temporarily joining together with wagon trains was a natural extension of the customs of hospitality.[212] It is unlikely the Anglo American travelers understood the meaning of the gesture, but the music and trade was enough to convince them of the Paiutes' peaceful intentions. Woodhams and his companions consented to the stay because they were "as decent as our white neighbors"

[212] Michael L. Tate, *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 92-3.

and a "merry and harmless race." Racial and cultural differences still existed between them. Their countenance was strange and effeminate to Woodhams, and he was annoyed at the difficulty in communicating. The trading and the mutual interest in music, however, revealed their nature—which was peaceful.[213]

In 1839 Thomas J. Farnham traveled across the plains on his way to Oregon territory to join a mission in the Willamette Valley. In the Blue Mountains of eastern Oregon, he met a Native American family traveling along the same trail. Through gestures and fragmented English, Farnham and Crickie, the family leader, agreed to travel together for a short time. In their time together, Farnham was greatly surprised by the conduct of the Natives. He remarked that there was an "affection and benevolence towards each other in this family of savages, which I had never before observed in that race." He was especially surprised when the Natives prayed to God before their evening meal. Farnham could not understand the conversation among the Native family but he picked up words like "Jehovah" and "Jesus" and concluded that they were discussing religion.

They slept outside that first night, in the clear fall weather. Farnham was the first to fall asleep and was later awakened by the sound of singing. With the foggy haze of sleep still upon him, Farnham did not at first understand what he was hearing. He knew not "whether the sweet notes...came to these solitudes from earth or sky." Then he realized it was the sound of the family singing in their evening devotions. In the language

[213] William Woodhams, "The Diary of William H Woodhams, 1852-1854: The Great American Deserts or Around and Across," in *Nebraska History* 61 ed. Charles W. Martin (Lincoln: Nebraska Historical Society, 1980), 85.

of the Nez Perez they sang a hymn, knelt, and prayed for a long while, then sang another song.

The events that evening show two things. First, the Native family practiced these things willingly. When they passed an hour conversing on religion among themselves, Farnham did not understand or participate. He was surprised when they prayed before their meal and was asleep when they began their hymns. Why would they practice these things when the Anglo American among them had not expected nor participated in them? Because they wanted to. They gave thanks for their meal and sang hymns to Jesus in the Nez Perez language because they believed in Jesus and that was their native tongue. Second, the religious practices and the singing of hymns, increased Farnham's respect for the family. "This was the first breathing of religious feelings that I had seen since leaving the States," he wrote. Whatever bond he felt with the family, it was no doubt strengthened through song.[214]

The pressures of assimilation at Native American boarding schools could produce complex results, some opposite to those the educators intended. Even as schools forced upon Native students a musical tradition that was not their own, some students welcomed it. Many realized that musical performances at the school could break up the daily routine of schools run with military-like discipline.[215] It is just as innate to human nature to resist something when it is imposed as it is to welcome something because it is new. It is not

[214] Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, The Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in Oregon Territory* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), 329-32.
[215] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 32.

surprising then that the response of Natives to assimilation, particularly in music, was multifaceted, complex, and individualized.

While some Native Americans in the boarding schools accepted assimilation into Anglo culture, the process also served to unite Natives from diverse tribes. Students formed new intertribal relationships as they encountered the music and customs of one another.[216] In the first few decades of the twentieth century, cultural repression in boarding schools lessened and teachers began tolerating certain Native customs.[217] In the mid-twentieth century the Forest Grove Indian Industrial and Training School started including Native dances in their annual pageants. Students whose tribes did not traditionally practice the corn dance, for example, found meaning in the custom through these pageants.[218] The powwow likewise became a pan-tribal practice. Initially the powwows performed at boarding schools did not resemble the powwows as they were performed by Natives in their original context but the practice evolved and became a shared practice among Native Americans from diverse tribes.[219] By preserving their traditions, they also forged new ones—creating a pan-Indian culture. In this form of resistance to the dominant class, they created harmony among themselves.

Emancipation Songs and Anglo Audiences

In 1864 Horace Waters, a New York piano manufacturer and a frequent collaborator with Stephen Foster, published "The New Emancipation Song." The music

[216] Ibid., 31-2.
[217] Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 239-44.
[218] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 128-29.
[219] Idib., 157-58.

was arranged by Susan McFarland Parkhurst and the sheet music cover advertised it "as sung by the Hutchinson Family." There was nothing out of the ordinary in the publication. Waters had a long and successful career selling instruments and publishing hymns, Mrs. Parkhurst produced several well-known songs in her day, and the Hutchinson Family concerts drew large crowds and even toured in England.[220] What is noteworthy is that all those involved with the song—Waters, Parkhurst, and the Huchinson Family—were Anglo Americans. African American slaves cried for freedom in their spirituals but Anglos too sang songs of deliverance.

Already the salvation
Of our slave holding nation
Demand the emancipation
Of slaves in the states.

Oh, let not our free soil
Be degraded by the toil
Of the men whom you despoil
In these United States.

If you wish to be commended
Let not slavery be extended,
But its reign quickly ended,
In these United States.

Their language in the song is simple but effective. They painted a picture of a nation condemned for its injustices. Words like salvation, demand, degraded, and despoil invoke feelings of judgement and guilt. The song represented the most radical branch of the anti-slavery movement by calling for the inclusion of African Americans into the Anglo dominant society. "Don't send them to Liberia," the song went. Furthermore, with

[220] Scott Gac, *Singing for Freedom: The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Antebellum Reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 208-09.

their freedom, slaves could "act the part of neighbor/And hire white men to labor."[221] The song's radical vision was of an egalitarian nation where African Americans owned land and hired Anglo American men to work it. The song called for more than emancipation, it called for equality. This was more than music or words on a page. Songs like this capture occasions where Anglo Americans used music to support minorities and champion their rights.

In California, The *Sacramento Daily Union* in April 14, 1862, published the lyrics to the "Hymn For Freedom."

> *Upon the Nation's heart,*
> *A mighty burden lies;*
> *Two hundred years of crimes and tear,*
> *Of anguish, groans and sighs.*

Although California was a free state and was spared the bloodshed of the war, many there had a vested interest in abolition. The song the newspaper endorsed not only empathized with the oppression of slaves, it pleaded to God for their deliverance.

> *If men refuse, O God!*
> *To set the captives free,*
> *Break, as old, the oppressor's rod*
> *And give them liberty.*[222]

These were not the only abolitionist songs written by Anglo Americans. Many songs were written during and even after the Civil War. "Glory! Glory!" was published in 1866 and its lyrics captured the excitement of slaves liberated by the Union army. Invoking images of Sherman's march to the sea the chorus rang:

> *Glory! Glory! How the Freedman sang,*
> *Glory! Glory! How the old woods rang,*

[221] Crawford, *The Civil War Songbook*, 137-40.
[222] "Hymn For Freedom," *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14 April, 1862, 3.

'Twas the loyal army sweeping to the sea,
Flinging out the banner of the free.[223]

Little is known about the composer J.C. Wallace and lyricist J.C_N but their 1864 song "We Are Coming From the Cotton Field" provides a helpful counterpoint to the blackface minstrel songs popular in the same era.[224] Whereas the minstrel songs adopted a "black" perspective for comic effect, the songwriters here did so for solidarity. From the vantage point of the slave, it called for African Americans to join the Union army, but it was not a simply recruitment song. Its lyrics dwelled not on fighting but on the racial injustice of slavery.

We will leave our chains behind us, boys,
The prison and the rack;
And we'll hind beneath a soldier's coat,
The scars upon our backs

By the heavy chains that bound our hands,
Thro' centuries of wrong,
We have learn'd the hard bought lesson well,
How to suffer and be strong.[225]

The songs did not advocate only for the emancipation of African American slaves in the South; slavery existed throughout the nation. California, a free state, attracted Southerners who brought their slaves to work in the gold mines. The slaves at first found new autonomy in the West, as the institution was more flexible than in the South.

---

[223] Crawford, *The Civil War Songbook*, 141-144.
[224] The lyricist's name is not misprinted. "J.C_N" is how it appears on the original sheet music. Although the race of the composer and lyricist are not known with certainty, it is highly probable they were Anglo Americans. The song took a pro-union stance and was published in Chicago. The publisher was Root & Cady, a company founded by Anglo Americans which published songs for famous Anglo composers such as George Frederick Root. See W. K. McNeil, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Gospel Music* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 324-25. In the unlikely case that the composers were not Anglo American, the song was nevertheless popular among Anglo Americans.
[225] Crawford, *The Civil War Songbook*, 153-155.

Throughout the 1850s, however, California laws tightened and validated the rights of slaveholders, even on free soil.[226] Slavery was a feature in many Native cultures, but as tribes were forced west they brought with them a form of slavery they learned from Anglo Americans. By 1819 Cherokee and Creek societies adopted slave codes which would have been very familiar to an Anglo American southerner and his slaves. The laws prohibited slaves from engaging in trade without tribal supervision and established patrols which monitored the slave community among them.[227] Hundreds of African American slaves were brought with their Native masters on the Trail of Tears. The Seminole tribe alone owned 500 slaves, making up 18% of their total population in 1842. By 1860 it is estimated that the number exceeded 1000 and composed 29% of their population.[228] The enslavement of African Americans was not confined to the South under Anglos; it existed in the West as well.

The accumulation of anti-slavery songs reveal that music was an avenue through which Anglo Americans could express solidarity with those in bondage; envisioning a liberating army though they themselves had not known that oppression, empathizing with the crimes committed against another. The music also countered the racist political songs that advocated for exclusion and the rights of white men. Though the songs of harmony were not always loudest, they were always present.

---

[226] For more on slavery in California, see Stacey L. Smith, "Remaking Slavery in a Free State: Masters and Slaves in Gold Rush California," *Pacific Historical Review* 80 (2011).
[227] Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, 63; For more on the slaves of Anglo Americans in the West, see Durham and Everett, *The Negro Cowboys*, 13-19.
[228] Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, 64-67.

African American musicians faced many challenges in their careers. In the nineteenth century many of the most popular musical performers in the Nation were not Americans. The Nation overlooked its own performers and instead imported musicians from Europe. Minstrelsy was in a category of its own, but among American concert musicians, establishing an audience was a difficult task. African American musicians faced the additional challenge of racial prejudice.[229] Even so, several African American concert musicians received national fame.

The life of Thomas "Blind Tom" Greene Bethune is a sad story of a musical genius's fame and oppression. Bethune was born both blind and into slavery in 1849. As a young boy his master found that he possessed unique talent for the piano. After hearing others in the house play the instrument, he was able to sit and perform the compositions and hand exercises without any previous training. Once he began playing, his ability to perform pieces by ear developed. He learned music by Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin as well as popular parlor songs, and his master claimed he never forgot a composition once he had learned it. To capitalize on his incredible talent, his owner began hiring him out for performances, drawing large crowds and earning substantial amounts of money. When eleven years old, Bethune performed for President James Buchanan, in what is the first recorded instance of an African American performing in the White House.

Throughout his long career, Blind Tom toured the nation, earning acclaim everywhere. In 1873, the San Francisco *Pacific Appeal* reported that Tom performed a series of concerts with "crowded attendance."[230] In 1894, the *San Francisco Call*

[229] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 257.
[230] "Blind 'Tom,'" *Pacific Appeal*, May 3, 1873, 2.

advertised his upcoming performance. It encouraged readers to attend as it would be his last appearance in the city before touring elsewhere. The article called Bethune "the Negro wonder" and an "extraordinary musical genius."[231] In 1887 the *Daily Alta California* reported on a court case concerning Blind Tom in Baltimore. Tom's former master and manager had passed away and members of his family fought each other for custody of Blind Tom. The report illustrates that not only was Tom famous for his music, but readers three-thousand miles away were interested in his personal life.[232] Finally, in June, 1908, the Santa Rosa *Press Democrat* reported on Tom's death, observing that he was "one of the best known performers before the American public."[233] The career of Blind Tom was neither brief nor regional. He maintained a long-lasting and national audience.

Blind Tom's popularity among Anglo American audiences exemplifies the power of music to transcend racial and cultural divides. However, his exploitation at the hands of his owners and managers complicates the narrative. During the Civil War, Blind Tom was forced to give concerts for the sick and wounded of the Confederate army. Because of his disability, Blind Tom was left in the hands of his owner's family even after emancipation. Acting as his manager, the family earned thousands of dollars a year from his concerts.[234] Blind Tom's popularity makes it clear that harmonious relationships developed in the midst of exploitation.

---

[231] "Blind Tom's Last," *San Francisco Call*, November 11, 1894, 5.
[232] "Blind Tom," *Daily Alta California*, July 31, 1887, 5.
[233] "Death of Blind Tom," *Press Democrat*, June 16, 1908, 1.
[234] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 251-254; "Wiggins, Thomas "Blind Tom" (1849-1908)," Black Past, accessed September 14, 2016, http://www.blackpast.org/aah/wiggins-thomas-blind-tom-1849-1908; "Blind Piano Prodigy Thomas Greene Bethune," The White House Historical Association, accessed September 14, 2016, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/blind-piano-prodigy-thomas-greene-bethune.

After the war, there were performers born and raised in the West who gained fame and respect for their musical talent; for example, the African American Hyers sisters of Sacramento, California. In 1867, Anna Madah Hyers and Emma Louise Hyers, at ages twelve and ten respectively, gave their debut performance at San Francisco's Metropolitan Theater. Their beautiful soprano and contralto voices won over the crowd. The following day the *San Francisco Chronicle* gave a raving review: "those who heard them last evening were unanimous in their praises," their talents "rare natural gifts."[235]

The Hyers Sisters are recognized as perhaps the earliest crossover act. Their vocal talent and mastery of European music, such as songs from the Italian operas *Travatore* and *Traviata*, earned them the respect of many Anglo Americans. In 1869, while on tour in Boston, one critic wrote they "may be called musical prodigies....[T]hey are on par vocally with our better concert-singers; and upon further hearing may place them in rank with more pretentious vocalists."[236] The sisters proved they were capable of performing beyond the narrow confines of minstrel stereotypes, yet they also embraced their African American heritage by including traditional spirituals in their shows, all to the critical acclaim of Anglo American audiences.[237]

New musical styles and genres found an audience in the West. Ragtime was controversial but also exhilarating. In 1897, the *San Francisco Call* published an analysis of ragtime printed with notated examples of syncopation. The author summarized a recent performance by Anglo American musician Stanley Whiting, which included an

[235] Jocelyn L. Buckner, "'Spectacular Opacities': The Hyers Sisters' Performances of Respectability and Resistance," *African American Review* 45, (2012): 311.
[236] Southern, "Black Americans and Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy," 254-5.
[237] Buckner, "'Spectacular Opacities,'" 311.

analysis of ragtime. Whiting recalled his first encounter with ragtime when an African American shared it with him. To his surprise, Whiting, who had "received a good musical education," was unable to play along. "I tried to play that march as my negro collaborator did and failed," he explained. "Again I attempted it, to find that I had before me a musical puzzle." It took Whiting several days of practice before he could perform the rhythm of the song correctly.[238]

Whiting did not surrender all his perceived racial superiority. He viewed African American culture as the preservation of a timeless and barbaric past. Whereas Europeans left barbarianism behind and developed a proper civilization, he believed Africans were stuck in time. When an audience member suggested that ragtime was the music of the "Ethiopians of a thousand years ago," Whiting agreed, saying that "it is a bit of ancient history transplanted into America." He also called the African American man who taught him ragtime a "buck nigger."[239]

Even so, Whiting was willing to recognize African American talent; he called them "natural born musicians." He admitted that it took him days of effort before he could play in the syncopated style of ragtime. Yet despite its technical difficulty he claimed "every negro who plays, plays ragtime." He therefore admitted that African Americans were better musicians than himself. There is a central contradiction in Whiting's analysis. To him African American music was both archaic and innovative. He noted that they could incorporate "new and varying musical sensations" into their traditions and create new variations of music, or in this specific case, new forms of

[238] "Classic Music Rendered into Ragtime," *San Francisco Call*, September 12, 1897, 19.
[239] Ibid.

ragtime.[240] Because of the quality of their music, Whiting was forced to acknowledge their talent. Although this new form of music did not erase his belief in a stratified ranking of societies and races, his views were complicated, knowingly or not, by his recognition of African Americans' ability to take and reinvent the musical traditions of others.

Broken Hearts and Mexican Brass

"Spanish is the Loving Tongue" is a powerful example of music's ability to transcend racial bounds. The lyrics tell the story of an Anglo American cowboy who travels south of the border and falls in love with a Mexican woman but cannot marry her because of the race divide. The woman taught him Spanish in their secret midnight meetings.

My heart would nigh stop beating,
When I heard her tender greeting,
Whispered soft for me alone,
"Mi Amor, Mi Carazón"

Despite the bliss of their love, the cowboy—a rugged risk-taker by nature—took a "foolish gamblin'" job north of the border. He bid her a swift goodbye but later found he was unable to cross the border and return to her.

Never seen her since that night,
I can't cross the line, you know.
She was "Mex" and I was white:
Like as not it's better so.
Yet I've always sort of missed her
Since the last wild night I kissed her;
Left her heart and lost my own,
"Adiós, Mi Carazón."

[240] Ibid.

Although he concedes that it may be for the best, the singer reflects that he's always missed her and in their separation he lost his heart. The bittersweet ballad was widely appealing among cowboys. Its popularity shows that there was at least in theory an acceptance of interracial love.

The lyrics romanticize the lost love but also the Spanish language. It is the "loving tongue, soft as music." Five times the singer repeats a Spanish refrain, saying either "Mi Amor, Mi Carazón" or "Adiós, Mi Carazón." The words reveal a love of an individual but also an appreciation for a foreign culture. The song did not change the racial distinctions that existed, miscegenation laws remained a heated issue into the mid-twentieth century. The song, however, did allow many the chance to air their frustration and perhaps channel the heartache they experienced due to the inequality among the races of the West.[241]

The talent of Mexican performers also won the respect of Anglo Americans. Brass bands were a popular musical form in the nineteenth century. Particularly after the Civil War, the music caught the public's affection as composers like John Philip Sousa took the music to new heights.[242] Professional brass bands were rare at the time, but local bands sprouted up in cities and towns across the nation.[243] Many military camps had bands made up of servicemen. The larger forts of the West, the regiment headquarters,

---

[241] Siber and Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West,* 203-205; For further exploration on the whiteness of Mexicans, see Natalia Molina, "'In a Race All Their Own': The Quest to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship," *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 168-69.
[242] Dale Cockrell, "Nineteenth-Century Popular Music," in *Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 162.
[243] Ibid., 161.

had permanent bands while smaller posts like Fort Duncan, which lay on the Texan side of the Rio Grande, did not. In the winter of 1879 and 1880 Lieutenant Orsemus B. Boyd and his wife Frances Anne Mullen Boyd were stationed at Fort Duncan. Disappointed by the lack of music, in the evenings the couple often crossed to Piedras Negras, the town on the Mexican side of the river to enjoy the Mexican music. Frances Boyd remembered such nights fondly.[244] "The band was superb and the music so sweet and thrilling we could have listened for hours without weariness." Boyd even appreciated the Mexican music. "On one occasion the band was brought over to serenade us and we listened as in a dream to its rendering of various operas and Mexican national airs, played with such expression that all the sentiments they incited were aroused."[245]

Musical encounters were not always dualistic either; they could be multifaceted, engaging several cultures at once. One such example is provided by William Drummond Stewart. Stewart was born in Scotland in 1795 but traveled to the United States and lived among the western traders and mountain men from 1833 to 1838. At an annual trading gathering, or rendezvous, in 1833 at Horse Creek, Wyoming, Stewart witnessed a fascinating intersection of musical traditions. While a group of men sat in a Native American lodge, a Native woman presented a guitar and one attendee played a Spanish song.[246] Amid peaceful trade between Anglo and Native Americans, a Scotsman sat and enjoyed Spanish music.

---

[244] Dary, *Seeking Pleasures*, 108.
[245] Orsemus Bronson Boyd, *Cavalry Life in Tend and Field*, (New York: J. Selwin Tait & Sons, 1894), 295-6.
[246] Dary, *Seeking Pleasures*, 28-9; Monica Rico argues that the West was a place for Stewart to exercise an idealized form of manliness but also a place of flexible gender expectations. For more, see Monica Rico, "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (2007).

Welcomed Assimilation

The assimilation tactics of Anglo Americans included many brutal practices, such as banning native languages and forced boarding school attendance. At its worst it was the systematic destruction of a culture. This fact should not be overlooked or minimized but neither should we neglect the complex reactions of minorities to the assimilation process. Some individuals rejected forced assimilation, some accepted it in part, still others welcomed it in whole and found it gave them opportunities for self expression.

Ira M. Condit was a missionary to the Chinese in California.[247] In *The Chinaman as We See Him*, Condit recounted the efforts to care for and evangelize San Francisco's Chinatown. Every year his mission organized a Christmas concert for the children. He regarded the performance in 1895 as especially remarkable. About one hundred Chinese children participated in the performance and another hundred attended.

Christmas was not the only cause for celebration, however. The children also performed "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean." Columbia, being a nineteenth-century nickname for America, made the song an unofficial national anthem. The children waved red, white, and blue banners as they sang:

> *O Columbia, the gem of the ocean,*
> *The home of the brave and the free,*
> *The shrine of each patriot's devotion,*
> *A world offers homage to thee.*

[247] Christian missions to racial minorities within the borders of the United States were a longstanding practice which witnessed increased enthusiasm and federal support in the nineteenth century. For more on American evangelicalism and race relations, see Prucha, "Scientific Racism and Indian Policy." For more on nineteenth century liberal Protestantism and antiracism and its impact on race relations in the twentieth century, see Sarah Griffith, "'Where We Can Battle for the Lord and Japan': The Development of Liberal Protestant Antiracism before World War II," *The Journal of American History* 100 (2013).

Thy mandates make heroes assemble,
When Liberty's form stands in view;
Thy banners make tyranny tremble,
When borne by the red, white, and blue![248]

Condit claimed the event was "the most satisfactory exhibition of progress in the schools ever given." The mission's purpose was therefore not merely to make Christians but to make patriots. The Chinese in attendance did not object to the performance. In fact, Condit claimed they "seemed to enjoy [the] efforts to implant the lessons of American patriotism in the minds of [the] school children."[249] The acceptance of the song reveals that some Chinese immigrants welcomed or at least accepted the cultural assimilation of their children.

The musical relationship between Chinese immigrants and Anglo Americans was reciprocal. Some Anglo Americans enjoyed Chinese music just as some Chinese enjoyed Anglo music. Many of the workers on the railroad came from the Gungdong Provence of southern China and drew from the musical traditions of Canton and Hong Kong opera. Despite hostilities between the races, Chinese music found an audience in San Francisco in the nineteenth century. Several Chinese opera houses operated in the city, at one point there was enough support for four theaters. The crowds at these houses were not always made up of Chinese. Many times they performed for Anglo Americans. In 1852, the Chinese opera company Tong Hook Tong organized a concert with 123 musicians and a

[248] "O Columbia The Gem of the Ocean," Hymnary, accessed September 14, 2016, http://www.hymnary.org/text/o_columbia_the_gem_of_the_ocean.
[249] Ira M. Condit, *The Chinaman as We See Him and Fifty Years of Work for Him* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900), 212.

Chinese orchestra who performed in an American theater before a mixed audience.[250] In a similar situation in 1891, the First M. E. Church held a concert in San Jose for the benefit of a local Chinese Mission. In order to perform at the concert, one Chinese musician rode his bike all the way from Oakland. The most likely explanation for this is that he simply wanted to perform. The program included a mixture of Chinese and Anglo American music; it contained several English language hymns as well as Chinese songs and instrumentals. The audience "heartily applauded" a rendition of "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" sung in Chinese rather than English, which the singers performed alongside a Chinese orchestra. San Jose's *Evening News* reported that the "concert was met with such a warm reception that it may be repeated."[251]

In 1887, San Francisco's *Evening Bulletin* reported that eighty Chinese actors were traveling to New York City to demonstrate "Oriental dramas" to easterners. Accompanying them were musicians who would share "choice Chinese music." There is no sense of prejudice in the remarks, and it reveals that some in the East wanted to hear music from other races. In contrast to the common characterization of Chinese music as "noise," some individuals in the West thought the music was worth sharing across the nation.[252]

---

[250] Broyles, "Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century," 152; Cornel Adam Lengyel, Ed., *Music of the Gold Rush Era* (San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, Northern California, 1939), 90.
[251] "Chinamen Sing: A Concert at the First M. E. Church Last Evening," *The Evening News*, June 27, 1891.
[252] "Telegraphic Notes," *Evening Bulletin*, March 22, 1887, 4.

A Paradox

Finally, there is a strange paradox that must be considered; the same music could simultaneously be inclusive and exclusive towards different racial groups. In the song "Niggers vs. Chinese," an Anglo American in blackface parodied the African American dialect while mocking Chinese immigrants.[253] "Dey cannot learn to play the fiddle/ Or pick the old banjo," the song went. But the act of ridiculing the foreignness of the Chinese from a "black" perspective implied that African Americans were not foreign, they were assimilated members of society.[254] It was the Chinese who stood outside of American culture. The song also demonstrates how thoroughly Anglo Americans accepted the banjo, an instrument invented by African slaves. The song makes evident that there were concentric circles of inclusiveness. Oddly, the lowest members of society, those who were perceived to be so inferior as to justify enslavement, were on the inside compared to the newer Chinese immigrants. The racial hierarchy of the West at a glance appears contradictory; the last were not first but they were higher than one might expect. The lyrics portrayed the fears many in the era had over the arrival of Chinese immigrants.[255] But they also reveal ideas of paternalism which insisted on African racial inferiority while bringing individual African Americans into the Anglo American family.[256] Chinese were not brought into the family in the same way. In fact, they often worked and lived in segregated communities, a trait that Anglo Americans perceived as

[253] This song was also discussed in chapter one.
[254] Moon, *Yellowface*, 48.
[255] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 73-4, 81,
[256] For perhaps the best analysis of American slavery and paternalism, see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 3-7, 123-125.

"clannish." This created a feedback loop of "otherness." To escape persecution, they created communities that only increased Anglo perceptions of their inferiority and justified their persecution.[257] "Niggers vs. Chinese" reveals that songs could use both harmony and dissonance; the two were not always independent.

Conclusion

It is over simplistic to portray all race relationships as wrought with conflict. Anglos sang songs in support of emancipation and of lost loves in Mexico. In some cases, Chinese and Native Americans welcomed the assimilation process. Members of all races displayed such musical talent that Anglo American audiences abandoned their musical prejudices. Harmonious interactions, like the dissonance of minority groups, usually occurred on smaller scales than the Anglo American melody; they were local, personal, and individual, rather than institutional like the exclusion acts or boarding schools. These peaceful interactions must not blind us to the damage rendered onto minorities and their cultures. Nevertheless, in the midst of systematic oppression and violence, of contention and resistance and exclusion, individuals could sit in an audience together and enjoy the music.

[257] Hine and Faragher, *Frontiers*, 99.

Interlude Three: Americanization

Anglo American musicians interpreted the music of other races through a lens of European sensibilities. As they interpreted the music of others, they also adapted it. Neither the original music nor their conceptions of it were left the same.

Of the musical traditions here considered, Chinese music has perhaps been the least influential on American popular music. The failure of Chinese musical ideas to penetrate the tastes of the general public does not, however, mean it was entirely absent. At the end of the nineteenth century, though most Anglo Americans viewed Chinese music as unmusical, a few composers incorporated elements of Chinese music to invoke feelings of exoticism and "otherness." The practice was most common among composers who felt limited by strict Victorian sensibilities.[258] The 1897 Broadway musical *The First Born* took as its subject Chinese immigrants in America. William Faust, one of the show's musical composers, based several of the songs on melodies he heard in San Francisco's Chinatown. The songs were Americanized by adding harmonies similar to European songs, but still retained their Chinese mood.[259] The musical was widely popular. One newspaper at the time called it "the dramatic sensation of the age."[260] This statement certainly contains the exaggeration of the press, but is nevertheless evidence of the musical's popularity.

Chinese music challenged the very conceptions those in the European tradition held about music. Asian music used notes outside the twelve semitones in the western

[258] Moon, *Yellowface*, 87.
[259] Ibid., 95-6.
[260] "Amusements," *Cornell Daily Sun*, December 1, 1897.

chromatic scale. To document Asian songs, America's Anglo cousins in London divided each of their notes into hundreds.[261] The cent division of notes is used today by any musician with an electronic tuner or audio engineer with digital recording software.[262] A feature so often used by musicians today is the result of one racial group's attempt to document and understand another's music.

Europeans and Native Americans had been in contact with each other since the end of the fifteenth century. In that long history of encounters, it is not surprising that both groups' music was affected by the other. Spanish and then Protestant missionaries taught Christian hymns to Natives.[263] In the eighteenth century, while Mexico was still under Spanish rule, composer Manuel de Sumaya (1680-1756) brought together European and indigenous styles. Working in what is now New Mexico and California, Sumaya composed liturgical choral songs which were accompanied by Native American instruments.[264]

In the late nineteenth century a new generation of Anglo American composers drew from Native American sources, just as other composers had with Chinese music. Known as "Indianists," these composers, popular from 1890 to 1925, based their melodies on those of Native Americans.[265] The origins of the movement are found in the

---

[261] Moon, *Yellowface*, 92-3.
[262] Owner's Manual for Auto Tune Pitch Correcting Plug-in, Antares Audio Technologies, (2008): 16, 25, 39.
[263] Victoria Lindsay Levine, "American Indian Musics, Past and Present," in *Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 24.
[264] "Mexican American Song" Library of Congress, accessed December 6, 2016. https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197459.
[265] Just as the market revolution nearly a century before directed popular attention to supposedly agrarian African Americans, in the wake of industrialization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the public became fascinated with Native Americans as another "other" to themselves. Their songs were considered "authentic" and were comforting in an increasingly urban and industrial society which fostered

work of Theodore Baker. Baker was the first American of European descent to systematically study Native American music. It was through Baker's transcriptions that later musicians and composers had access to Native American melodies.[266]

Composer Edward MacDowell used the melodies provided by Baker in a number of his compositions, most notably the Second ("Indian") Suite, op. 48, but they appear in much of his work from 1891 to 1902. In the same era when the Anglo American public was embracing African American music, MacDowell remained skeptical of African American music. He had little regard for "Negro melodies" because he associated them with the weakness and humiliation of slavery. However, he turned to Native American music for source material because their "stern...manly and free rudeness" appealed to him.[267]

In 1900 ethnologist Alice Fletcher published *Indian Story and Song from North America,* an in-depth analysis of the music of the Omaha. Like the work of Baker before her, Fletcher's transcription of Native melodies became a source for composers such as John Comfort Fillmore, Charles Cadman, and most importantly, Arthur Farwell. Unlike composers like MacDowell, Farwell used largely unedited and unabridged Native melodies.[268]

These composers were not alone in their efforts to incorporate Native American melodies into the European tradition. While visiting America, Czech musician Antonín

---

isolation and autonomy. For more, see Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 74, 99, 191. See also, Nash, *Creating the West,* 5-6. Nash argues that the rapid change of this era also fostered nostalgia for the frontier and fostered popular acceptance of Turner's Frontier Thesis.

[266] Tara Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the 'Indianist' Movement in American Music," *American Music* 15 (1997): 265.

[267] Ibid., 267-68.

[268] Ibid., 273-74, 277.

Dvořák composed his String Quintet in E-flat Major, op 97, which included melodies he transcribed while observing a Native American traveling medicine show.[269] Though not formally an "Indianist," John Philip Sousa, famous for his marching band music, published a collection in which he applied harmonies to Native American melodies.[270]

The musical influence was reciprocal. The performance patterns of Native Americans were also changed. Native Americans learned from Europeans the practice of performing for entertainment or profit. In their own cultures, music was tied to religion and ceremony. Adapting their songs for secular settings was directly influenced by Europeans. Some of the songs performed in this context incorporated English words as well.[271]

The music of African Americans has profoundly influenced popular music in the modern era. Of all the races examined in this work, no other group has so fundamentally shaped the music of the Nation. Nor was the African American community immune to the influence of others. Thomas Dartmouth Rice and many other pioneers of blackface minstrelsy drew inspiration for their songs from the music of slaves they heard while traveling in the South. This led to a feedback loop of musical ideas. Minstrel songs adapted African American styles for Anglo American audiences. But as the songs

[269] Ibid., 272.
[270] Levine, "American Indian Musics, Past and Present," 28. See also Fergusson, *Dancing Gods*; Julia M. Seton and Ernest Thompson Seton, *The Rhythm of the Redman: In Song, Dance and Decoration* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930). The work of Fergusson and the Setons was influenced by the Indianist movement but they redirected the focus to Native American dance. In doing so they display the wide reaching influence of the Indianist composers whose work was used in fields outside of music.
[271] Levine, "American Indian Musics, Past and Present," 24-25. For more on secular and sacred Native American ceremonies, see Matthew Krystal, *Indigenous Dance and Dancing Indian: Contested Representation in the Global Era* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 17-19.

became national hits, they were transported back into the South where slaves heard them, sung them, and thus reintegrated them into their musical culture.[272]

This process was not unique to minstrel songs either. Despite the confines of slavery and later of segregation, there was a "free trade of musical ideas" between the African and Anglo American communities. The two communities' folk songs were never fully identical but by the century's end there existed many shared folk traditions. Both sang ballads about Jesse James, Casey Jones, and Railroad Bill, for example. Since Anglo and African American musical traditions were mutually influencing, each group incorporated the music of the other with relative ease. [273]

Musical interactions were not limited to encounters between Anglos and others. During World War II, Mexican Americans borrowed African American cultural forms like the zoot suit and the jitterbug. African American rhythm and blues musicians meanwhile drew inspiration from the Mexican American pachuco subculture, which in turn was influenced by Jazz swing music.[274] Thus continued the process of African American culture reintegrating its own musical forms after they had been adapted by other racial groups.

It was in these meetings that the music became American, not merely because Native, Chinese, and African American music was Anglicized, but because Anglo music evolved and adapted as well. Instruments, melodies, genres, and even new divisions of notes were incorporated into Anglo sensibilities. American music was forged in a furnace

[272] Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 192.
[273] Ibid., 194-95.
[274] Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, 272.

of multiculturalism. Every element from each group has been critical and no ingredient or contributing race has been left unchanged by the fusion.

Cadence

One day as Jesse Applegate journeyed the Oregon Trail in 1843, he climbed atop a bluff to survey the region through which he and the wagon train were traveling. When he reached the summit he saw a land of severe beauty. There was a "broad river glowing under the morning sun like a sheet of silver, and the broader emerald valley that borders it, stretch[ing] away in the distance."[275] The landscape, he wrote in his journal, played tricks on one's eyes. "To those accustomed only to the murky air of the seaboard, no correct judgment of distance can be formed by sight, and objects which they think they can reach in a two hours' walk may be a day's travel away." Sound too was strange. In this vast region a daytime riffle shot was a muted and weak thing. But in the evening, the air carried sounds far into the distance. When the train set its camp for the night, Applegate described a scene of sound:

> Before a tent near the river a violin makes a lively music, and some youths and maidens have improvised a dance upon the green; in another quarter a flute gives its mellow and melancholy notes to the still night air, which, as they float away over the quiet river, seem a lament for the past rather than a hope for the future.[276]

Applegate's description of that day was highly romantic. He believed the pioneers were "men of destiny." The Anglo Americans who made the journey were brave conquerors. "No other race of men with the means at their command would undertake so great a journey, none save these could successfully perform it," he claimed.[277] Applegate

[275] Jesse Applegate, "A Day with the Cow Column in 1843," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 1 (1900): 375.
[276] Ibid., 382.
[277] Ibid., 377.

was wrong in his dismissal and contempt of the "native savages." But he was not wrong about the music. He understood something important about it; it was not easy to define. Music was and is universal and at the same time as diverse as the humans making it.

The same was true for all music in the West—it meant many things. It meant oppression, it meant resistance, it meant peace. There were songs of hope and deliverance; songs of sorrow and empowerment. Music brought communities together, bonding them in a shared culture. It also tore people apart and was used to justify racial superiority. Music illustrates that the West was a place of complexity. It is appropriate then that our histories of it are difficult to discern. But the elaborate and entangled relationships between the races are made more comprehensible by viewing the West through the lens of music.

Music had regional origins and characteristics, but instruments, songs, and genres permeated the whole of the nation. There was a continuity between the West and the East. Minstrelsy developed in the East but drew inspiration from the frontier. The roots of western Native American boarding schools were in eastern post-Civil War schools for African Americans. The travails of economic depression and job competition in the East repeated themselves with regional variations among the racial groups in the West. Through music we can see this continuity without obscuring what made the West unique. We gain clarity without sacrificing complexity.

Perhaps western historians have neglected music because it is often nostalgic. They picture the cowboys of the 1950s singing heroic Anglo-centric misrepresentations of the West. In an effort to abandon Turner's frontier thesis, they have abandoned too

much and overlooked an important form of evidence. I have endeavored to illuminate the power dynamics of race expressed in music. Those of European descent are here cast in the primary role. Too rarely mentioned are the occasions when minorities interacted with the music of one another; between Natives and African Americans, Mexican Americans and Chinese. Important sources are awaiting discovery and incorporation into our historical narratives.

My purpose here has been to examine race. Music is not the subject but rather the method, the lens, the vantage point through which we see race and power. However, it has also been necessary to study music through race. Today's popular music is saturated in the legacy of musical ideas which crossed racial divides. One cannot listen to today's music without hearing the results of cross-racial musical exchange and embedded in those sounds is a rich and complicated story of race, resistance, and power.

Bibliography

Primary Sources & Collections

Allen, William Francis, Charles Pickard Ware, Lucy McKim Garrison, and Irving Schlein. *Slave Songs of the United States; The Complete Original Collection (136 Songs)*. New York: Oak Publications, 1965.

Applegate, Jesse. "A Day with the Cow Column in 1843." *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 1 (1900): 371-383.

Aram, J. *Across the Continent in a Caravan: Recollections of a Journey from New York through the Western Wilderness and Over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific in 1846*. Edited by James Tompkins Watson. New Haven: Associated Publishers of American Records, 1907.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *California Pastoral: 1769-1848*. San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888.

Boyd, Orsemus Bronson. *Cavalry Life in Tend and Field*. New York: J. Selwin Tait & Sons, 1894.

Burrell, Mary. "Council Bluffs to California." In *Best of Covered Wagon Women, Volume II: Emigrant Girls on the Overland Trails*, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes, 177-206. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.

Chambers, H. A., ed. *The Treasury of Negro Spirituals*. New York: Emerson Books, 1963.

Christy, Edwin P. *Christy's Panorama Songster: Containing the Songs as Sung by the Christy, Campbell, Pierce's Minstrels, and Sable Brothers*. New York: William H. Murphy, [1850?].

Condit, Ira M. *The Chinaman as We See Him and Fifty Years of Work for Him*. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900.

Crawford, Richard, ed. *The Civil War Songbook: Complete Original Sheet Music for 37 Songs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1977.

Eastman, Mary. *Dahcotah; or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling*. New York: J. Wiley, 1849.

Farnham, Thomas J. *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, The Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in Oregon Territory*. London: Richard Bentley, 1843.

Haun, Catherine. “A Woman’s Trip Across the Plains in 1849.” In *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*, edited by Lillian Schlissel, 165-185. New York: Schocken Books, 1992.

Herder, Nicole Beaulieu and Ronald Herder, ed. *Best-Loved Negro Spirituals: Complete Lyrics to 178 Songs of Faith*. Mineola: Dover Publications, 2001.

Hom, Marlon K. *Songs of Gold Mountain: Cantonese Rhymes from San Francisco Chinatown*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Johnston, WM. G. *Overland to California*. Oakland: Biobooks, 1948.

Jubilee Singers. *Jubilee songs: as sung by the Jubilee singers, of Fisk university*. New York: Biglow & Main, [1872?].

LaFlesche, Francis. *The Middle Five: Indians Boys at School*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1909.

Martin, Charles W. ed., “Joseph Warren Arnold’s Journal of His Trip to and from Montana, 1864-1866.” *Nebraska History* 55 (1974): 462-552.

Oregon Pioneer Association. *Transactions of the Forty-Sixth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association: Portland, June 20, 1918: Cointaining the Proceedings of the Thrity-Second Grand Encampment of Indian War Veterans of the North Pacific Coast and Other Matters of Historic Interest.* Portland: Chausse-Prudhomme Co., 1921.

Paredes, Américo, ed. *A Texas-Mexican Cancionero: Folksongs of the Lower Border*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Raph, Theodore, ed. *The American Song Treasury: 100 Favorites*. New York: Dover, 1986.

Reid, Bernard J. *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line*: *The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid*. Ed. Mary McDougall Gordon. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.

Silber, Irwin, and Earl Robinson, ed. *Songs of the Great American West*. New York: Dover Publications, 1995.

Silber, Irwin, ed. *Songs America Voted By: With the Words and Music That Won and Lost Elections and Influenced the Democratic Process*. Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1971.

Silber, Irwin, ed. *Soldier Songs and Home-Front Ballads of the Civil War*. New York: Oak Publications, 1964.

Smith, Compton S. *Chile Con Carne, or, The Camp and the Field*. New York: Miller & Curtis, 1857.

Standing Bear, Luther. *My People, the Sioux*. Edited by E. A. Brininstool. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928.

Stephens, Alexander H. "The Cornerstone of the Confederacy." In *Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History*, edited by Eric Foner, 269-274. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.

Taylor, Bayard. *Eldorado; or Adventure in the Path of Empire; comprising; a Voyage to California, via Panama; Life in Fan Francisco and Monterey; pictures of the Gold region and Experiences of Mexican Travel.* New York: G. P. Putnam, 1861.

Thissell, G. W. *Crossing the Plains in '49*. Oakland: 1903.

Woodhams, William H. "The Diary of William H Woodhams, 1852-1854: The Great American Deserts or Around and Across." In *Nebraska History* 61, edited by Charles W. Martin, 1-101. Lincoln: Nebraska Historical Society, 1980.

Newspapers

"Amusements." *Cornell Daily Sun*, December 1, 1897.

"Amusements." *Tacoma Daily News*, January 22, 1989.

"Blind Tom." *Daily Alta California*, July 31, 1887.

"Blind 'Tom.'" *Pacific Appeal*, May 3, 1873.

"Blind Tom's Last." *San Francisco Call*, November 11, 1894.

"Celestial Joy: A Band of Happy Chinamen Celebrate an Event." *Daily Evening Bulletin*, September 14, 1888.

"Chinamen Sing: A Concert at the First M. E. Church Last Evening." *The Evening News*, June 27, 1891.

"Chinese Music." *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 27, 1870.

"Chinese Musical Art." *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 26, 1870.

"Chinese Orchestra." *The Evening News*, September 3, 1891.

"Classic Music Rendered into Ragtime." *San Francisco Call*, September 12, 1897.

"Death of Blind Tom." *Press Democrat*, June 16, 1908.

"Hymn For Freedom," *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14 April, 1862.

"Negro Minstrelsy." *The Oregonian*, September 11, 1852.

"Telegraphic Notes." *Evening Bulletin*, March 22, 1887.

"The Chinese School Festival," *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1878.

"The Fisk Jubilee Singers," *Daily Alta California*, April 23, 1890.

"The Jubilee Singers" *Daily Alta California*, January 3, 1890.

"The Jubilee Singers," *Healdsburg Enterprise*, January 8, 1890.

"The Stage." *The Sunday Oregonian*, January 23, 1898.

Secondary Sources

Books

Abbott, Lynn, and Doug Seroff. *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, "Coon Songs," and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007.

Andersson, Rani-Henrik. *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

Barker, Eugene C. *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836; A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People*. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Barkley, Elizabeth F. *Crossroads: The Multicultural Roots of America's Popular Music*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007.

Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Charters, Samuel. *The Roots of the Blues: An African Search*. Boston: M. Boyars, 1981.

Costen, Melva Wilson. *In Spirit and in Truth: The Music of African American Worship*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004.

Cott, Nancy F. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Dary, David. *Seeking Pleasure in the Old West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Demos, John. *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014.

Dubois, Laurent. *The Banjo: America's African Instrument*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Durham, Philip, and Everett L. Jones. *The Negro Cowboys*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965.

Fergusson, Erna. *Dancing Gods; Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957.

Finson, Jon W. *The Voices That Are Gone: Themes in 19th-Century American Popular Song*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Foner, Eric. *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010.

Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Gac, Scott. *Singing for Freedom: The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Antebellum Reform*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Glaude, Eddie S. *Exodus!: Religion, Race, and Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century Black America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Gutiérrez, David. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Hendricks, Robert J. *Bethel and Aurora, an Experiment in Communism as Practical Christianity: With Some Account of past and Present Ventures in Collective Living*. New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1933.

Horsman, Reginald. "Racial Destiny and the Indians." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, 226-38. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989.

Hine, Robert V. and John Mack Faragher. *Frontiers: A Short History of the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Jacoby, Karl. *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History.* New York: Penguin Books, 2009.

John, Elizabeth A. H. "Indians in the Spanish Southwest." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, 49-63. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989.

Johnson, Susan Lee. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000.

Krystal, Matthew. *Indigenous Dance and Dancing Indian: Contested Representation in the Global Era*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012.

Kubik, Gerhard. *Africa and the Blues*. American Made Music Series. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999.

Lengyel, Cornel Adam, ed. *Music of the Gold Rush Era*. San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, Northern California, 1939.

Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken past of the American West*. New York: Norton, 1988.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

McNeil, W. K. *Encyclopedia of American Gospel Music*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005.

McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Moon, Krystyn R. *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Nash, Gerald D. *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Noll, Mark A. *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Parkhurst, Melissa. *To Win the Indian Heart: Music at Chemawa Indian School*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014.

Prucha, Francis Paul. "Scientific Racism and Indian Policy." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, 238-51. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989.

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso, 1999.

Rohe, Randall E. "Chinese Miners in the Far West." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, 328-43. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989.

Saxton, Alexander. *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Seton, Julia M. and Ernest Thompson Seton. *The Rhythm of the Redman: In Song, Dance and Decoration*. New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930.

Simonett, Helena. *Banda: Mexican Musical Life across Borders*. Music/culture. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001.

Southern, Eileen, ed. "Black Musicians and Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy." In *Inside the Minstrel Mask: Readings in Nineteenth-Century Blackface Minstrelsy*, edited by Annemarie Bean, James V. Hatch, and Brooks McNamara, 43-63. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1996.

Southern, Eileen. *The Music of Black Americans: A History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971.

Tate, Michael L. *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.

Taylor, Quintard. *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990*. New York: Norton, 1998.

Vander, Judith. *Shoshone Ghost Dance Religion: Poetry Songs and Great Basin Context*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Webb, Walter Prescott. *The Great Plains*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931.

Weber, David J. "Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, 251-59. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989.

Weissman, Dick. *Blues: The Basics*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Wilkinson, Charles F. *The People Are Dancing Again: The History of the Siletz Tribe of Western Oregon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.

Wilson, Charles Reagan. *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (2nd Edition)*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

Worster, Donald. "New West, True West." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, 21-33. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989.

Yung, Judy, Gordon H. Chang, and H. Mark Lai. *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Articles

Adas, Michael. "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History." *The American Historical Review* 106, (2001): 1692-720.

Adelman, Jeremy, and Stephen Aron. "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History." *The American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 814-841.

Adelman, Jeremy, and Stephen Aron. "Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives." *The American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 1235-1239.

Anderson, Ruth. "Music on the Move: Instruments on the Western Frontier." *Overland Journal* 5 (1987): 27-34.

Bhandari, Sudhanshu. "Discrimination and Perseverance amongst the Chinese in California in the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries." *China Report* 47 (2011): 1-24.

Brooks, William. "The American Piano." In *The Book of the Piano*, edited by Dominic Gill, 172-190. Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981.

Brown, Richard Maxwell. "Rainfall and History: Perspectives on the Pacific Northwest." In *Experiences in a Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History*, edited by G. Thomas Edwards and Carlos Schwantes, 13-27. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.

Broyles, Michael, “Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century.” In *Cambridge History of American Music*, edited by David Nicholls, 135-157. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Browner, Tara. “‘Breathing the Indian Spirit’: Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the ‘Indianist’ Movement in American Music." *American Music* 15, (1997): 265-84.

Buckner, Jocelyn L. “‘Spectacular Opacities’: The Hyers Sisters’ Performances of Respectability and Resistance.” *African American Review* 45 (2012): 309-323.

Cadava, Geraldo L. "Borderlands of Modernity and Abandonment: The Lines within Ambos Nogales and the Tohono O'odham Nation." *The Journal of American History* 98, (2011): 362-383.

Carson, Sandra M. “Music: A Softer Pleasure along the Oregon-California Trail.” *Overland Journal* 5 (1987): 36-38.

Cockrell, Dale, “Nineteenth-Century Popular Music.” In *Cambridge History of American Music*, edited by David Nicholls, 158-185. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Delgado, Grace Peña. "Neighbors by Nature: Relationships, Border Crossings, and Transnational Communities in the Chinese Exclusion Era." *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 3 (2011): 401-429.

DeMallie, Raymond. "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account." *Pacific Historical Review* 51 (1982): 385-405.

Djedje, Jacqueline Cogdell, “African American Music to 1900.” In *Cambridge History of American Music*, edited by David Nicholls, 103-134. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Edmunds, R. David. "Blazing New Trails or Burning Bridges: Native American History Comes of Age." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 39 (2008): 4-15.

Griffith, Sarah. "‘Where We Can Battle for the Lord and Japan’: The Development of Liberal Protestant Antiracism before World War II." *The Journal of American History* 100 (2013): 429-453.

Hadamer, Armin. "American Fiddle Tunes and Their German Connection." *Lied Und Populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* 55 (2010): 9-39.

Jacobs, Margaret D. "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History." *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 585-604.

Hämäläinen, Pekka, and Samuel Truett. “On Borderlands.” *The Journal of American History* 98 (2011): 338-361.

Harper, Matthew. “Emancipation and African American Millennialism.” In *Apocalypse and the Millennium in the American Civil War Era*. Edited by Ben Wright, 154-173. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013.

Haskell, Thomas L. “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part I.” *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 339-361.

Haskell, Thomas L. “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part II.” *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 547-566.

Johnston, Robert D. “There’s No ‘There’ There: Reflections on Western Political Historiography.” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 42 (2011): 331-337.

Kanazawa, Mark. "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65 (2005): 779-805.

Keyes, Sarah. “‘Like a Roaring Lion’: The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest." *The Journal of American History* 96 (2009): 19-43.

Kwan, SanSan. "Performing a Geography of Asian America: The Chop Suey Circuit." *The MIT Press* 55 (2011): 120-36.

Leong, Karen J. "Still Walking, Still Brave: Mapping Gender, Race, and Power in U.S. Western History." *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 618-28.

Levine, Victoria Linsday, “American Indian Musics, Past and Present.” In *Cambridge History of American Music*, edited by David Nicholls, 1-29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Limerick, Patty. "Examining ‘The Heart of the West,’" *The Public Historian* 31, no. 4 (2009): 90-96.

Magee, Jeffery, “Ragtime and Early Jazz.” In *Cambridge History of American Music*, edited by David Nicholls, 388-417. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

McCullough, Lawrence. "An Historical Sketch of Traditional Irish Music in the U.S." *Folklore Forum* 7 (1974): 177-91.

Molina, Natalia. "'In a Race All Their Own': The Quest to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship." *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 167-201.

Morgan, Edmund S. "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." *The Journal of American History* 59 (1972): 5-29.

Nugent, Walter. "Western History, New and Not so New." *OAH Magazine of History* 9, no. 1 (1994): 5-9.

Peretz, Isabelle "Listen to the Brain: a Biological Perspective on Music and Emotions," in *Music and Emotion: Theory and Research*, edited by Patrik. N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda, 105-134. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Pomeroy, Earl. "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41, no. 4 (1955): 579-600.

Pubols, Louise. "The Singing Cowboy and the Professor: The New West at the Autry National Center." *The Public Historian* 31, no. 4 (2009): 71-76.

Rath, Richard Cullen. "Hearing American History." *The Journal of American History* 95, no. 2 (2008): 417-31.

Rico, Monica. "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West." *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 2 (2007): 163-91.

Saxton, Alexander. "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," *American Quarterly* 27(1975): 3-28.

Schwartzman, Grace M., and Susan K. Barnard. "A Trail of Broken Promises: Georgians and Muscogee/Creek Treaties, 1796-1826." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (1991): 697-718.

Smith, Mark K. "Still Coming to 'Our' Senses: An Introduction." *The Journal of American History* 95, no. 2 (2008): 378-380.

Smith, Mark M. "Getting in Touch with Slavery and Freedom." *The Journal of American History* 95 (2008): 381-391.

Smith, Stacey L. "Remaking Slavery in a Free State: Masters and Slaves in Gold Rush California." *Pacific Historical Review* 80 (2011): 28-63.

Steiner, Michael C. "Regionalism in the Great Depression." *Geographical Review* 73 (1983): 430-46.

Stimeling, Travis D. "The Sons of the Pioneers' Lucky 'U' Ranch and the Singing Cowboy in Cold War America." *American Music* 28 (2010): 76-96.

Taylor, Quintard. "People of Color in the West: A Half Century of Scholarship." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 42 (2011): 313-18.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1894): 119-227.

White, Richard. “Race Relations in the American West.” *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 396-416.

Worster, Donald, Susan Armitage, Michael P. Malone, David J. Weber, and Patricia Nelson Limerick. “‘The Legacy of Conquest’, by Patricia Nelson Limerick: A Panel of Appraisal.” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (1989): 303-22.